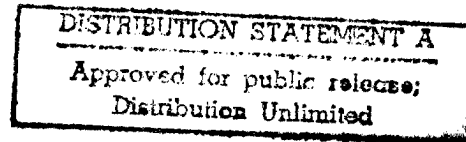


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11 July 1984



# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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11 July 1984

## EAST EUROPE REPORT

### POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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BULGARIA

TEXT OF AMNESTY LAW PUBLISHED

Sofia DURZHAVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 1 Jun 84 p 529

[Ukase of the National Assembly No 1664 and Amnesty Law]

[Text] Ukase No 1664 of the National Assembly

The State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, on the basis of Article 84, Paragraph 1 and Article 93, Point 6 of the Bulgarian Constitution DECREES:

To promulgate the Amnesty Law in DURZHAVEN VESTNIK.

Published in Sofia on 31 May 1984 and sealed with the state seal.

Chairman of the State Council of the  
People's Republic of Bulgaria:  
T. Zhivkov

Secretary of the State Council of the  
People's Republic of Bulgaria:  
N. Manolov

AMNESTY LAW

Article 1. (1) Amnesties are granted for the following crimes committed prior to the adoption of this law.

1. Premeditated crimes involving a punishment of imprisonment for up to 3 years or another easier punishment;

2. Unpremeditated crimes which entail a punishment of imprisonment for up to 5 years or other easier punishment.

(2) In terms of crimes committed by minors, the provisions of the previous paragraph are to apply after considering a commuting of the punishment according to the provisions of Article 63 of the Penal Code.

(3) The provisions of the previous paragraph do not apply when the crime has been committed after the individual has been convicted with a sentencing to

imprisonment or when after conviction and before the coming of this law into effect another crime has been committed for which a punishment of imprisonment is envisaged. In these instances consideration is not given to crimes covered by amnesty under another law or for which the individual has been rehabilitated.

Article 2. Amnesties are to be extended to crimes committed under Articles 279-289 of the Penal Code, and respectively crimes under Article 155a of the Penal Law in effect prior to 13 Marcy 1951 and for Articles 175 and 176 of the Penal Code in effect prior to 1 May 1968 and committed by Bulgarian citizens prior to the adoption of this law, if they have been returned or return voluntarily to the country prior to 31 December 1968.

Article 3. (1) The property confiscated or taken away on the basis of Article 53 of the Penal Code prior to the day of the promulgation of this law, the fines which have been imposed on the basis of the sentences in effect for the crimes designated in Articles 1 and 2 as well as the property confiscated under the ukase governing the lifting of Bulgarian citizenship are not to be returned.

(2) The property confiscated and taken away on the basis of Article 53 of the Penal Code as well as the equivalent value of what was gained through the crime and the object of the crime according to the sentences in effect and which have not been collected prior to the promulgation of this law are to be collected.

(3) Confiscated goods and money under pending preliminary proceedings and cases for crimes designated in Articles 1 and 2 are to be returned to the competent individuals unless their acquisition or possession by them is prohibited or they are to be confiscated under other laws.

Article 4. When an administrative crime at the same time contains the indications of an administrative violation, the perpetrator bears the administrative-punitive responsibility stipulated for it.

Article 5. Disputed questions arising in the application of this law are to be settled by the court which has handed down the sentence or to which the case for the committed crime has been remanded.

#### Concluding Provisions

§1. This law comes into effect as of the day of its promulgation in DURZHAVEN VESTNIK.

§2. The carrying out of the law is entrusted to the minister of justice, the minister of internal affairs and the chief prosecutor.

The law has been adopted by the 8th National Assembly in its 13th session, 2d sitting held on 30 May 1984 and is sealed with the state seal.

Chairman of the National Assembly of the  
People's Republic of Bulgaria:  
St. Todorov

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CSO: 2200/130

## GENERAL MITKOV DISCUSSES POLITICAL EDUCATION IN ARMY

Sofia ARMEYSKI KOMUNIST in Bulgarian No 5, 1984 pp 8-16

[Article by Lt Gen Mitko Mitkov, chief of the Main Political Directorate of the People's Army: "The National Party Conference and the Tasks of the Men in the Bulgarian People's Army"]

[Text] The national party conferences have become a tradition in the Leninist April course of the BCP in carrying out the program for building a developed socialist society in our country. At them the party and all the workers thoroughly and profoundly discuss the problems which to a decisive degree determine the implementation of the congress plans. In 1974, this was the question of raising social labor productivity. In 1978, it was the problem of improving the socialist organization of labor and planned economic management. On 22 and 23 March 1984, the National Party Conference examined the question of quality.

The positing, the nation-wide discussion, the decision taken and the adopted long-range program on this major problem convincingly show the political maturity and April daring of the BCP and they clearly manifest the ability of Comrade Todor Zhivkov to bring out and analyze the main key theoretical and practical problems of our ascending development along the path of mature socialism.

True to its creative approach in solving the arising problems of our development, the party has taken a new approach to preparing for the National Party Conference. Almost a year prior to it the Varna National Conference was organized and at it Comrade Todor Zhivkov gave a noteworthy speech on the problems of product quality. In it he concluded that: "...Product quality is a key problem in the BCP policy for the dynamic and efficient development of the national economy and this is a key problem in the global strategy of building a pure socialist society in Bulgaria."<sup>1</sup> Also of primary significance in understanding the problems of quality is his report to the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee "On Certain Immediate Questions of Applying the Economic Approach and Improving Management." This made it possible for the party and the people at the National Party Conference to be concerned not only with the analyzed theoretical positions but also practical programs and major changes in production activities.

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<sup>1</sup> "Natsionalna partiyna konferentsiya" [National Party Conference], Sofia, 1984, p 14.

The BCP has always given great importance to the quality problem. But recently the objective conditions of our development have required a focusing on the quality indicators. "At present," as was pointed out by our first party and state leader in his exceptionally informative introductory speech at the conference, "the situation is fundamentally different. Now it is a question not of definition but rather a general solution to the problem of quality as an objective requirement and as a primary technological, economic, social, political and ideological problem."<sup>2</sup>

On the economic level, the solving of the quality problem at the present stage of our development will make it possible to achieve the following: to successfully implement the course of the 12th Congress for ubiquitous intensification; with the available labor resources and production capacity to produce more consumer goods from the existing amount of raw products, materials, energy and fuel; to save live and embodied labor; to achieve even more dynamic and stable economic growth and to further strengthen our economic might; to increase the competitiveness of our products, to deepen and broaden our participation in the international division of labor and in socialist economic integration. On the social level, the solving of this question will allow us to better satisfy the greater and higher needs of the socialist workers and to carry out the December program for raising the prosperity of the people and to more fully carry out the main task set by the 12th Congress of our party. On the ideological and political level, the solving of the quality program will further confirm the advantages of the socialist social system, it will provide a further improvement in the socialist way of life and the successful indoctrination of ideologically tempered and completely developed socialist personalities and will increase the attractive force of real socialism for millions of workers in all countries.

The problem of quality concerns all spheres of the entire life of our society. "High quality," pointed out Comrade Todor Zhivkov in his introductory speech, "must be won not only in one or another sector but in all sectors, in the reproduction process and in society as a whole."<sup>3</sup>

These words of Comrade Todor Zhivkov are also directly addressed to us. The struggle for high quality and the motto of the National Party Conference "High Quality Everywhere and in Everything" apply fully to the Bulgarian People's Army [BNA].

What does it mean under army conditions to fight for high quality? This means to fight to continuously raise the level of the army's combat readiness, that is, its ability in the single formation of the fraternal armies of the Warsaw Pact countries headed by the invincible Soviet Army, to defeat any aggressor, however strong he may be.

In realizing the exceptional significance of this party command, after the 12th Party Congress and particularly after the Varna Conference, the leadership of the Ministry of National Defense, the General Staff and the G1PUNA [Main

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p 40.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p 41.



Political Directorate of the People's Army], the commanders and staffs, the political bodies, the party, Komsomol and trade union organizations set the questions of the all-round raising of the quality of military activities at the center of their attention. These problems were thoroughly and creatively discussed at the party report-election meetings and conferences which were held in the army. The work of the 15th All-Army Party Conference was also devoted to them.

The participation of the General Secretary of the BCP Central Committee, Todor Zhivkov, in the work of the 15th All-Army Party Conference and his vivid program speech rich in valuable ideas and instructions have made it possible for us to penetrate even more profoundly into this cardinal, key problem for raising and maintaining the combat training and readiness of the troops on the necessary level; we have been able to better concretize the decisions of the National Party Conference and the long-range program adopted by it for improving quality to the specific conditions of the army; we have been able to correctly set the basic ways and means for carrying out the party advice for high quality everywhere and in everything; we are correctly focusing attention and efforts of all the BNA personnel on what we must do.

At present, the main and most important task is to make the decisions of the National Party Conference a vital concern for all the communists and all the BNA personnel. The conference motto "High Quality Everywhere and in Everything" must become the basis of all the activities of the commanders, staffs, political bodies, party, Komsomol and trade union organizations and all the men of the BNA. Here it is essential to decisively change the relationship between words and deeds in favor of deeds.

As was stated by Comrade Todor Zhivkov in his concluding speech, "...Good intentions and the necessary discussions must end...the time of deeds is here."<sup>4</sup> Raising the quality of the army's training is not only our key task but also our international duty which requires that we more closely link our efforts with the armies of the Warsaw Pact and particularly with the Soviet Army.

The struggle for high quality under army conditions is inseparable from the struggle to introduce technical progress. The words of Comrade Zhivkov in his introductory speech at the National Party Conference "at present high quality can be achieved only by active participation in the scientific-technical revolution and by mastering the top scientific and technical results"<sup>5</sup> apply fully to the BNA. The technical revolution in military affairs is turning into an evermore crucial factor for the successful waging of modern war. For this reason the introduction of technical progress in the army as up to now must be one of the main tasks for the commanders, the staffs, the political bodies and party organizations.

The primary duty of all the communists, the commanders, the political bodies, the party and Komsomol organizations is to wage a constant struggle for the

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p 69.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p 43.

personnel to perfectly master the weapons, combat equipment and technology with which the army is equipped. Further work must be done to build and diversify the training facilities with modern equipment and intensifying the training process. It is essential to introduce better organization and purposefulness into the military-scientific, scientific research, experimental design and rationalization activities in the army.

The socialist competition must be even more effectively used for carrying out these and subsequent tasks.

A rise in the military educational level and skills of the military personnel is one of the main areas for improving the quality of troop activity. "The leading cadres," pointed out Comrade Todor Zhivkov in his introductory speech at the National Party Conference, "in all areas of social life must always be on top of the new tasks and must play a leading role in the nationwide struggle for high quality."<sup>6</sup> Now more than ever before all the army personnel must have a greater and more profound knowledge in the military, military-technical, political and ideological areas, they must constantly improve their skills and master advanced experience and be constantly ready to act under the most complex conditions of modern nuclear missile warfare.

There must be an even greater improvement in the forms and means for training and retraining the military personnel and constantly raising the level of its quality. Measures must be undertaken which would exclude any possibility of training falling behind the development of military affairs. The command and instructor personnel of the G. S. Rakovski Military Academy and the VVUZ [military higher institution of learning] are to continue their efforts to create high command, organizational and political qualities in the students and officer candidates.

Even more attention is to be given to raising the military theoretical and procedural training of the junior officers and sergeants as the immediate leaders of exercises. Along with this work must be continued to develop in them a strong Marxist-Leninist ideology and class-party awareness as well as even higher moral, volitional and mental qualities and a high feeling of responsibility for the effective fulfillment of the set tasks.

Of very great importance in carrying out the tasks set by the National Party Conference is a further improvement in the quality of the command-organizational work of the MNO [Ministry of National Defense] bodies, the directorates and staffs in fully carrying out the set tasks. At present, even more attention must be paid to such aspects of command and organizational work as: improving the quality of planning the operational, combat and political training; of inspection and aid in the troops; of the ability to organize the actual execution of each set task.

The main efforts of command and organizational work are focused on the unit. Without shifting the basic burden of the struggle to improve quality in

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p 51.

all-round troop activities to this basic cell of the troop organism, high and steady results are inconceivable in combat and political training and in the combat readiness of the army.

For this reason, it is essential to continue the concern shown for maintaining a good sociopsychological climate in each troop collective, for constantly raising reciprocal exactingness and responsibility, for forming and developing a socialist attitude toward military labor and strengthening troop order and discipline.

It is essential to establish an even more ordered organization in preparing the leaders and personnel for exercises, to wage an even more effective struggle against average results in training and for most fully utilizing the good conditions created and the capabilities of the personnel in the units and subunits. At no time can we reduce the concern for satisfying the growing needs of the personnel and turning this into an important factor for improving quality of combat readiness as well as combat and political training.

In the Administrative Sector of the MNO, the leadership and management of quality must hold a key place in the struggle for its improvement. For this reason we must further improve the very management of quality of military production, construction and maintenance, and improve control of this making it a concern of all bodies and of each labor and military collective. Thought must be given to working out integrated comprehensive programs for further improving the quality of individual types of military products, construction and maintenance on the basis of fundamentally new solutions in the area of equipment and technology.

With unabated force and tenacity we must continue the struggle for further strengthening discipline, as one of the basic prerequisites for improving the quality of combat and political training and combat readiness. This problem, as up to now, must be a primary concern, a question of honor for every commander, staff, political organ, party, Komsomol and trade union organization. These must give unflagging attention to maintaining life in the unit in strict accord with the regulations and the strengthening of the troop collectives will continue to be their constant concern.

It is imperative to further strengthen service, party and Komsomol exactingness on the violators of discipline. As Comrade T. Zhivkov said, a new wind has begun to blow and this must clear out any manifestations of irresponsibility toward this crucial problem for us.

At present, it is particularly important to further raise the role and effect of party political work on improving the quality of combat and political training and the combat readiness of the troops. The political bodies must work harder to study and explain the essence of the party's strategic line concerning high quality in accord with the requirements of the National Party Conference. They must help the communists and all the personnel in thoroughly analyzing them and creatively applying them in their diverse activities.

Party political work must help each communist, each commander and officer and each serviceman develop an inner conviction that raising the combat readiness of the troops in accord with the requirements of the BCP Central Committee and in

the complex international situation depends chiefly upon the quality of their work.

Particularly effective, close and immediate must be the help of the political bodies in improving the political approach and organizational work of the commanders and staffs in carrying out the party's long-range program for improving quality under army conditions.

At present, the main task of ideological work in the BNA is to help in turning the requirements of the National Party Conference into the basic content of the activities of the commanders, the political bodies, the party and Komsomol organizations and into a profound conviction and motive for action in the men to improve the quality of the combat capability and readiness of the troops. This must help more actively in strengthening discipline and introducing the most recent achievements of scientific and technical progress into the training process. It is particularly important to create high political awareness of duty and responsibility in the men and for developing the socialist way of life. More than ever before at present it is essential that ideological work be developed and improved on the basis of a constant deepening of its tie with life and the tasks of the army. For this reason, it is right to ever more decisively introduce ideological work into the company, the battery, squadron, ship, the field, into the production and construction brigade and each work area. Concern for quality must be turned into a basic concern for man and into a profound and inspiring motive in all ideological indoctrination.

It is essential to constantly enrich the content, the ideological-theoretical and procedural level of the exercises in the area of Marxist-Leninist and political training as well as the teaching of social sciences in the VVUZ. The style of political instruction for the various categories of servicemen is to be creatively changed and the practical focus of the exercises strengthened.

The content, organization and forms of mass political and cultural-educational activities in the troops must be constantly improved. For this purpose fuller use must be made of the celebrating of revolutionary holidays and noteworthy anniversaries.

The improving of the quality and effectiveness of cultural activities should be continued. The central military cultural institutions must further increase their contribution to establishing cultural and artistic values on a high ideological and artistic level, to the aesthetic indoctrination of the servicemen and to more closely linking their activities to the life and tasks of the troops. The military mass information media must strengthen their organizational goal, they must constantly improve the ideological and creative level of the published materials and enrich their thematic and genre content.

It is very important to have a constant rise in the quality of ideological work for arming the officer personnel and all the men with a correct political assessment of the present-day complex international situation and the tasks stemming from it for our army. It is essential to skillfully explain the constructive and consistent policy of the Soviet Union, Bulgaria and the other fraternal countries for maintaining worldwide peace and the strengthening of their defense might. The aggressive policy and preparations of the United States for war against the socialist commonwealth must be more consistently unmasked.

At present, the situation urgently requires an even more active and aggressive counterpropaganda against bourgeois ideology and ideological subversion of imperialism, against anticommunism and anti-Sovietism. The soldiers must have a correct understanding of modern warfare and the probable enemy and they must be indoctrinated in class implacability and hate for the enemies of socialism and in a profound conviction that if the imperialists dare to unleash a new world conflict, the last exploiting system will perish in its flames.

It is essential to constantly improve and update the leadership of ideological work in the BNA, in putting the qualitative indicators in the forefront in carrying it out. We must further strengthen the activeness, aggressiveness and implacability of ideological work against everything that runs contrary to the new demands and impedes higher quality of military activity. It is particularly imperative to pay even greater attention and concern to strengthening and improving ideological indoctrination in the primary party organizations. The party organizations and communists are fighting even more actively for the entire ideologization of military activity.

Improved quality of military activities must be turned into the core of party work. The content and the entire arsenal of forms, approaches and means of party organizational work must be brought into full accord with the requirements of the National Party Conference for improving quality everywhere and in all spheres of the army organism. The party organizations must provide all-encompassing and comprehensive political leadership over the processes and phenomena which determine the creation of a qualitatively new level in the combat and political training of the personnel and the combat readiness of the BNA.

It is essential to continue improving and actually carrying out the system of party control over the work of the economic, administrative and other managerial bodies from the economic, cultural, sports and service sectors of the MNO for improving the quality of the activities performed by them.

In carrying out the demands of the National Party Conference a particular place is also held by further improving the quality of leadership activities by the political bodies and party committees over further strengthening the role of the primary party organizations in the struggle to improve the quality of troop combat readiness. The main efforts and emphasis in the work of the political sections and ZKPCh [deputy commanders for political affairs] must be further focused on the primary party organization for turning it into the political nucleus and center of active party work. Their main concern will be to provide immediate aid for the secretaries and bureaus in preparing and carrying out all party measures. The questions related to the state and activities of the party organizations are to be studied thoroughly and profoundly. The criterion in selecting the secretaries and the members of party leadership is to be constantly increased and greater concern shown for the organization and quality of their training.

It is essential to further improve the quality of internal party life. The party organizations are to be prepared in such a manner that they are a model of high quality and lead to a strengthening of responsibility and principledness in the relationships of the communists and to the growth of their self-exactingness.

All communists must be involved in party work. Each member of the appropriate primary party organization, regardless of his official position, is obliged to contribute to increasing its quality.

The demand of the National Party Conference to improve the quality of the party membership is to be carried out consistently and completely. The question of admitting new members to the party in the future is to be settled from class-party positions in strictly observing the BCP By-Laws, the decisions and instructions of the party Central Committee and the instructions of the GLPUNA for improving the membership of the party organizations and for strengthening the party nuclei and party influence in all areas and elements of the BNA.

We must fight even more consistently for improving the quality of party leadership over the Komsomol and trade union organizations. This requires that we carry out broad and diverse work to constantly increase the role and effect of the Komsomol in the army and to foster the activeness of the Komsomols for effectively carrying out the tasks of combat and political training and strengthening discipline. The party organizations are to set specific tasks for the communists in working with the Komsomol and are to demand responsibility for their effective fulfillment.

The struggle for high quality demands that party leadership over the trade union organizations contribute to turning them into a social guarantee for implementing the party's economic and social policy in the army.

These are the main areas and basic tasks for the BNA personnel in carrying out the party's motto "High Quality Everywhere and in Everything." Their fulfillment to a decisive degree depends upon the ability of the commanders, the staffs, the political bodies, the party, Komsomol and trade union organizations, without wasting time, to undertake effective measures so that each serviceman understands the purpose of the decisions and the criteria of the National Party Conference and the 15th All-Army Party Conference. The main thing is maximum concreteness and not general appeals for the quality of military service but rather the clarification of literally everything which can and must be done in order to improve the quality of military work.

Only by common effort, by high awareness and responsibility, by exceptional concern and endeavor on the part of each man is it possible to actually improve the quality of our activities everywhere and in everything and to raise to new heights the combat and political training of the personnel, the combat readiness of the troops and the defense capability of the motherland.

The National Party Conference on quality is an event of major and lasting significance for the party, the people and the army in their struggle to carry out the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress and for further realizing the April strategy and the party's policy of building and defending a developed socialist society in our country. The long-range program approved by the congress to improve quality, the speech of Comrade Todor Zhivkov at the National Conference in Varna of 30 May 1983, his introductory and concluding speeches at the conference and his statement at the 15th All-Army Political Conference, the speech of the member of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee and Minister of National Defense, Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov, at the All-Army Conference, the report and

decisions of the All-Army Conference and the Comprehensive MNO Program on quality are a broad platform for successfully resolving the key problem in further raising the combat readiness and capability of the troops, that is, achieving high quality everywhere and in all activities in the army.

The leadership of the MNO and the GIPUNA is confident that the labor and struggle to creatively realize the high party demands in military deeds again in the most persuasive manner will manifest the unlimited affection and total dedication of the BNA personnel for the glorious BCP and its wise Leninist April policy and that by their high successes in military and political training, in raising and maintaining combat readiness to the required level in honor of the 40th anniversary of the Socialist Revolution of 9 September and the BNA, the Bulgarian military will express their readiness always and everywhere, in the powerful and united battle formation of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact states headed by the invincible Soviet Army, to defend socialism, peace and social progress and to severely punish any aggressor.

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CSO: 2200/130

MONTHLY ON NEED FOR COMMUNIST UNITY

AU281320 Prague NOVA MYSL in Czech and Slovak No 6, 84 (signed to press 7 May 84) pp 43-53

[Article by Lecturer Doctor Jindrich Volek, candidate of sciences "leading scientific worker" of the CPCZ Central Committee's Institute of Marxism-Leninism: "For Unity of the Communist and Workers Movement;" article is written in Czech]

[Excerpts] The international communist and workers movement represents in the present stage on of the decisive forces of world development. Communists are in the front ranks of the struggle for progress and a happy future for mankind; they are the main force of the struggle for peace. At the same time they represent an acute danger for the bourgeoisie, which has declared a "crusade" against communism in an attempt to maintain its class rule. The sharpened class antagonisms of the divided world bring with them the need for firmer cohesion of the communist and workers parties, which form the nucleus of progressive forces and the basis of their struggle against imperialism.

The strengthening of peace has become the foremost task of communists in the present world, as they are the most important and most purposeful fighters against war. The peaceful future of mankind is a basic prerequisite for fulfilling the goal of the socialist revolution which is the liquidation of the social roots of exploitation and oppression of any kind. With the destruction of the exploitative social order, the class essence of the outbreak of wars will also disappear. (Footnote 6) (See M. Stefanak: "United of the International Communist and Workers Movement--An Important Factor in the Struggle for Peace and Social Progress," NOVA MYSL 1984, special issue, pp 109-120. See also K.H. Schroeder: "The World Revolutionary Process: Current Problems;" KOMMUNIST 1984, No 4 pp 102-111). The principles of the unity of the international communist and workers movement are thus assuming ever greater importance, and historical developments confirm their significance. It is from this viewpoint that today we view the results of the Conference of Representatives of Communist and Workers Parties of June 1969 and the whole process of strengthening the unity of the world revolutionary movement in the 15 years that have elapsed since then.



From the main document of the Moscow conference there clearly followed a quite unequivocal recognition of the viability and validity of proletarian internationalism, even under the conditions of new class struggles. It also noted that proletarian internationalism is based on the principles of voluntarism, equality, and coordination among communist parties and that the effectiveness of the application of international solidarity vis-a-vis democratic and national liberation currents and movements depends on the leading role and strength of the international revolutionary workers class.

In the mid-seventies some segments of the revolutionary workers movement began to assert "new internationalism." They placed emphasis on voluntarism, independence, and the development of broad cooperation. Hence, they did not come up with anything new, with anything that the international communist movement did not take into account at the 1969 conference. On the contrary, the conference regarded this as an inseparable part of the international communist movement's strategy and tactics. However, it was apparent from the way in which the "new internationalism" was interpreted by some of its exponents that it is aimed at diminishing the importance of the leading role of the revolutionary workers class in the world revolutionary process and leads, in essence, to weakening the class revolutionary contents of both traditional and new antiwar, antimonopoly, and anti-imperialist movements. This interpretation represented, and represents, an opportunist deformation of proletarian internationalism.

In contrast to this concept, since the conference of 1969 communists have been proceeding from the authentic revolutionary contents of proletarian internationalism in their endeavor to bring about the movement's action unity and to form broad-based democratic, antimonopoly, and anti-imperialist alliances. They have been making success in that struggle contingent on the extent and on the quality of the application of the forms and principles of proletarian internationalism under the conditions of the growing heterogeneity and complexity of the world revolutionary process.

At the conference, and outside it, great attention and extraordinary response were elicited by the speech of Comrade Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, who was the head of the CPCZ delegation. In addition to other things, he explained the broader political and deeper theoretical connections of the developments in Czechoslovakia in 1968-69. At the time of the conference, there was a considerable lack of clarity about this issue, even in parts of the international communist and workers movement. He stressed in his speech, above all, that "the harmony of national and international interests that should be seen to by every communist party, especially if it bears responsibility for the fate of the socialist state, is relatively easy to express in abstract terms. More complicated is applying it in political practice, especially when we take pains that our words not part ways with our deeds." (Footnote 11) (International Conference of Communist and Workers Parties. Prague, SVOBODA Publishing House 1970, p 467). At the close of his speech, Comrade Husak expressed the CPCZ's position on the issue of unity: "Our aim is to unite the international efforts of our parties on the principles of proletarian internationalism. On this basis it is necessary,

and possible, to coordinate and unite the views and political actions of the world army of the workers and communist movement and to rally around it million-strong masses of working people and all progressive strata. (Footnote 12) (Ibid., p 471).

No matter how much the enemies of the communist movement were trying to exploit the nonparticipation of some parties and the reservations expressed by some representatives' of attending parties, to belittle and discredit the importance of the conference, its results were of extraordinary importance for the international communist movement. (Footnote 13) (For various reasons, the deliberations were not attended by the CPC, the Korean Workers Party, the Communist Party of Japan, the AWP, the Communist Party of the Netherlands, the LCY, and the Communist Party of New Zealand. In view of the difficult situation in the country caused by the American aggression, the Vietnamese Workers Party asked for understanding for its inability to send a delegation. Delegations of the Communist Party of Cuba and of the Swedish Party of the Left--Communists took part in the deliberations as observers. The Communist Party of Cuba, which was undergoing a process of consolidation and unification, fully endorsed the results of the conference and subsequently implemented them. The Dominican Communist Party refused to support the submitted document in its entirety. The communist parties of Australia, San Marino, and Reunion expressed themselves in favor of strengthening the unity of the communist movement and adopted only that part of the document which contained the joint program of struggle against imperialism. Communist Party representations from Romania, Spain, Switzerland, Sudan, and Morocco expressed objections to individual formulations). They were achieved in an atmosphere of comradely congruity of interests, constructive exchange of views, and also clashes of opinion. The conference confirmed that it is possible to jointly discuss the main tasks of the movement and to actively fight for them even when there are and continue to exist, differences of opinion on some other tasks and problems.

The world forum of the communist movement worked out a joint anti-imperialist program, which constituted a contribution to the development of Marxist-Leninist theory and its practical application. It prodded the communist parties to reach a higher level of understanding of, and to more effectively fulfill, both the national and international tasks arising from the world revolutionary process. As a consequence of the implementation of the conclusions of the conference, the attempts of various groups in the international revolutionary movement to bring about its disintegration were thwarted. The conference represented progress in strengthening the action unity and cohesion of the international communist movement and in developing cooperation and interaction of all anti-imperialist forces.

The period after the Moscow conference showed that the mapped out directions of the communist parties' activity and struggle corresponded to the needs and requirements of revolutionary developments. As a consequence, the communist and workers movement advanced further, assuming in the seventies and at the beginning of the eighties stronger positions. The path through which the movement passed and on which it stands today has not been, and is not, straightforward, simple, and easy. It has been and is running up against

imperialism, a strong adversary using all its ideological and power instruments to weaken and split the communist and workers movement.

In the seventies and the first half of the eighties, in view of the growing danger of a nuclear missile war, which was referred to even at the Moscow conference, and the attempts of imperialist bourgeoisie to reverse revolutionary and progressive changes, the international communist movement devoted extraordinary attention to the problems of a united course of action and ideopolitical unification. A number of multilateral regional conferences, consultative meetings, and deliberations as well as dozens of bilateral meetings of representatives of communist and workers parties were held at that time to discuss new problems that arose in the world and to lay down joint procedures for dealing with them.

All conferences, joint actions, and congresses of individual communist and workers parties held to date were, and are, proof that communists are fully aware of the enormous importance of a joint course of action in the struggle for the most important tasks of the movement at present. It is apparent that they approach their fulfillment from the positions of creative Marxism-Leninism. This is reflected, above all, in the assessment of the main content of their revolutionary activity. They regard as the key and decisive task of the present the struggle for preserving the human race on earth, the struggle for the right of man to live.

This basic viewpoint does not mean, however, that out of regard for this main requirements of the present, communists in the nonsocialist countries underestimate the struggle for the defense and expansion of socioeconomic and democratic demands or for full political and economic independence.

In fulfilling the key tasks of the movement--and that applies to a smaller or greater extent also to other tasks arising from the pertinent stage of the revolutionary process--special responsibility rests with the communist parties of the socialist countries and with the CPSU in particular. These parties are in the front ranks of the complicated struggle for strengthening and developing the main real political, economic, social, ideological, moral, and military-defense basis of the revolutionary and progressive forces of the world, which is the world socialist system. The communist parties in the socialist countries show the main direction of mankind's progressive development and take the initiative to present and most consistently assert concrete solutions leading to the rescue of mankind from the threat of a nuclear holocaust. The question of unity of communist and workers parties and of the states of the socialist community comes to the fore in this connection. "The firm unity of fraternal parties and states, coordination of their actions, and consistency and adherence to principles in defending peace--that is the most correct policy, a policy corresponding to the interests of individual nations of the socialist countries and the socialist community as a whole. It is in the interest of progress, socialism, and peace that communists should fight with all their might to prevent egoism and indifference from triumphing in clashes with the evil of imperialism." (Footnote 16) (M. Stefanak and I. Hlivka: "The National and the International in CPCZ's Policy. RUDE PRAVO 30 March 1984, p 4).

Communists do not indulge in any illusions about the complex nature of the current class and political struggle. The world communist and workers movement is facing problems that have not yet been--and, indeed, could not be--theoretically completely resolved. Only the practice of revolutionary struggle will show which new methods and forms and which concrete tactics will have to be chosen and with what dynamism it will be necessary to advance. As historical experience has shown and present practice demonstrates, one of the basic prerequisites of success is the cohesion in action and the ideopolitical unity of the international communist and workers movement.

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MONTHLY ON NEED TO FIGHT 'OPPORTUNISM'

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[Article by Jozef Bobok, corresponding member of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, department head at the CPCZ Central Committee's Political College in Bratislava: "Historical Experience in the CPSU's and CPCZ's Struggle Against Opportunism;" article is written in Slovak]

[Excerpts] The study of historical experience in the struggle against opportunism in the workers movement is among the foremost tasks of our historical theoretical front. Experiences in the struggle against opportunism are momentous not only for the assessment of past events and relevant for the evaluation and solution of current and future problems of further development, but also because there has in the past few years been a revival of opportunist tendencies.

The struggle against opportunism is one of the most important laws of the development and activity of the Leninist party of a new type. V.I. Lenin wrote: "One of the essential conditions of preparing the proletariat for its victory is a long, tenacious, and relentless struggle against opportunism, reformism, social chauvinism, and similar bourgeois influences and currents, which are unavoidable as long as the proletariat lives in a capitalist environment." (Footnote 1) (V.I. Lenin: Works. vol 30, Bratislava, State Publishing House of Political Literature 1954, p 24) It is necessary to pay attention to this theoretical-methodological point of departure of the entire concept of ideological struggle in the international workers movement. The communist movement never regarded the overcoming of opportunism as a goal in itself. The struggle against opportunism is simultaneously a struggle for the [communist] parties' and the revolutionary movement's unity, for the cohesion of the workers class and all working people, and for the victory of the socialist revolution. This struggle is one of the prerequisites of building a new society.

In the course of history, opportunism has been manifested in various specific forms and the contents of its concepts have been varied. However, irrespective of all these specific features, the class essence of the struggle against opportunism has always been the same. The class approach and international content of this struggle has been, and will remain, the same.

The unity of the general, which expresses the class essence of this struggle, and of the unique, which expresses its specific features in individual countries, thus represents the dialectical foundation for a correct understanding of the activity of the communist movement and individual communist parties. As is known, at the turn of the seventies there was a revival of revisionist tendencies in some communist parties, which openly falsify Leninism and distort historical experiences and the truth about present socialism. Anticommunism, which has in many capitalist countries, especially in the United States, has elevated to the status of an official policy, also stepped up its attacks on the socialist community in the hope of crushing by means of the so-called erosion the fraternal alliance of the socialist nations and of restoring capitalism in "liberal" forms. This was sharply manifested in the activity of internal counterrevolution and reaction in the Polish People's Republic. That is why it is essential and topical to study some principled questions of the historical experience in the struggle against opportunism.

The main forms of opportunism share a joint class-social and ideopolitical basis. They are different manifestations of one and the same tendency. Because of certain differences in the social basis and ideological forms, however, their representatives declare that they represent "independent" or "autonomous" directions or parties. Such differences of a formal character really exist but all forms of opportunist ideology--revisionism as well as social reformism--ultimately fulfill one and the same social function.

Revisionism lays claim to a "creative interpretation" of Marxism and declares that it constitutes one of the "forms" of Marxism (Bernsteinism, Menshevism, Trotskyism, Kautskyism, Maoism, "Eurocommunism," and so forth). In reality, however, its ideologues do not proceed from the positions of dialectical materialism in explaining social phenomena and processes but from idealistic, ethical, and, not infrequently, vulgar materialistic principles and views. In real policy making, they "recognize" only reformist paths to socialism, the road of compromise. The history of the international workers movement does not know a single example of the implementation of their very promising plans for a transition to socialism "along the evolutionary path." On the contrary, history bears out that in the decisive moments opportunism capitulates before the difficulties of revolutionary struggle and frequently goes over to the positions of the proletariat's class enemies.

The policy of reformism is not, however, unequivocal and in a number of issues there exist possibilities for cooperation on the basis of the joint interests of the workers class and all working people.

Regardless of past differences between opportunist directions, with the onset of the imperialist era opportunism became an international direction and presents itself henceforth in two constant and fixed forms--opportunism "from the right" and "from the left." The main feature of rightwing opportunism is rejection of the revolutionary methods of struggle, a line aimed at cooperation between antagonistic classes, and orientation toward a "reformation" of capitalism without its replacement by socialism. In an attempt to justify their rejection of the general laws of the struggle for socialism, revisionist

elements in some communist parties propagate some sort of a "third party," which according to them "differs" from both social democratic and real socialism.

"Leftwing" opportunism is the second general form of opportunism. Its representatives act as ultrarevolutionaries, demanding "revolution" regardless of whether the conditions for it are ripe or not. "Leftwing" opportunists oppose struggle for the real rights of working people under capitalism, refuse to use the institutions of bourgeois democracy in the interest of the class struggle of the proletariat, and so forth. It is not seldom that the "leftists" degenerate into various extremist and terrorist groups, working in reality for the benefit of imperialist reaction.

The possibilities of opportunism are diminished and limited in connection with the emergence of world socialism, the development and strengthening of the international communist movement, and the disintegration of the colonial system. This historical trend is not inconsistent with the fact that in a number of advanced capitalist countries opportunism still exerts considerable influence. This is the case because the socioeconomic and ideopolitical sources of its existence have not yet been eliminated and because state monopoly capitalism, together with social reformism at times of economic booms, spreads and supports opportunist tendencies in every possible way.

The fraternal parties rely on certain laws in their struggle against opportunism. This struggle cannot be waged as a campaign confined to certain periods. Resistance to opportunism of all kinds was, and remains, an unshakable law for all Marxist-Leninist parties. This resistance must be marked by class and partisan approaches and by adherence to principles coupled with creativity and opposition to sectarianism. It must be directed against the eclecticism in the world outlook of opportunism and against vulgar pragmatism in its policy. It requires the timely theoretical solution of urgent problems concerning social transformations and unity between revolutionary theory and practice.

In fighting opportunism, one must not conceal the movement's weaknesses. On the contrary, it is necessary to candidly criticize them in the interest of a rapid and energetic solution and to choose a differentiated approach to various manifestations and directions of opportunism. It is necessary to take into account the difference between the social base of opportunism and opportunist ideologues and politicians, to differentiate between those who erred and made a mistake on the one hand and genuine opportunists on the other. It is important to strictly scientifically predict future trends but at the same time it is impermissible to come up with ready-made "recipes" for social transformations. The classics of Marxism-Leninism were extraordinarily prudent in outlining the contours of socialism and communism, avoiding utopia and phantasy. It was only on the basis of scientific evidence that they formulated the basic trends of development and their main, fundamental features. Finally, the struggle against opportunism requires the solution of the positive problems [as published] of revolutionary struggle and social progress and the creation of conditions for the implementation of the historic mission of the workers class.

These are the most important, substantial principles of the struggle against opportunism and for socialism, principles that are derived from the historical experience of the CPSU, the CPCZ, and the communist movement. The basic theoretical-methodological propositions of Leninism and the historical experiences of the activity of the CPSU, the CPCZ, and other parties at the same time have an international character.

It is necessary to stress that the struggle against opportunism is not confined to the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. Even in the period of socialism, the party does not cease waging a struggle against opportunism; on the contrary, the importance of this struggle change as the socioeconomic and other important roots of opportunism gradually disappear inside the country. The emphasis is increasingly shifted to the international arena. This does not mean, however, that relapses into opportunism cannot reappear in one socialist country or another even after the victory of the proletarian revolution, as is shown, for example, by the negative experiences of Maoism or by the counterrevolution in the Hungarian People's Republic in 1956, in the CSSR in 1968, or, most recently, in the Polish People's Republic.

On the basis of experiences acquired in the struggle against opportunism, it is possible to designate some basic directions: It is struggle for unity within the party itself, struggle against various anti-Leninist deviations, tendencies, and factions; struggle against opportunist forces in the workers movement, forces that lead the workers class astray, to the path of compromise and reformism and, ultimately, to the path of the restoration of capitalism; struggle against the ideological allies of opportunism outside the workers movement endorsing socialism, that is, the ideologues of liberal bourgeoisie and representatives of petit bourgeois socialism; and struggle for subordinating the ideological struggle of the proletariat and its allies to the basic tasks of revolutionary transformations. Today, these basic tasks are struggle for peace and against the aggressive policy of imperialism.

At present, there exist three basic ideopolitical forms of opportunism: revisionism in the communist movement and social reformism and leftism of various shades in the workers movement--these two forms represent the internal front of struggle--and the manifold distortions of Marxism and its liberal and petit bourgeois falsifications, which represent the external front of struggle.

Despite some differences in the forms of ideology and struggle, these two fronts (the internal and the external) are not isolated. On the contrary, their socioeconomic contents and class goals are essentially identical.

One of the most important conclusions from the historical experiences of our party--a conclusion that has been confirmed also by the experiences of other fraternal parties--is the inadmissibility of compromises in the area of ideology. This is a great lesson also for the present struggles of our party and the entire international communist movement.

In questions of the struggle against opportunism in the international arena, the CPSU, the CPCZ, and the majority of fraternal parties have always



proceeded from the principles of proletarian internationalism, the interests of the unity of the international communist movement, and the interests of the fulfillment of the historic mission of the workers class.

The transition from capitalism to socialism, the victory of socialism in the USSR and the CSSR, and the transformation of socialism into the world socialist system raised the problem of the attitude of communists to non-Marxist parties and organizations in the workers movement in a new way. While continuing to wage a principled ideothoretical struggle against various forms of opportunist ideology, communists advocate cooperation with those workers parties whose leaders, although adhering to the ideology and policy of social reformism, represent in the political struggle the interests of a certain segment of the workers class and are in favor of a joint solution of many social tasks. Such compromises are dictated by the objective situation of the workers class, which under capitalist conditions does not constitute a uniform entity, neither in socioeconomic nor in ideo-organizational terms. Nonetheless, it retains its objective basic class interests. Such an orientation is becoming even more urgent at present.

The struggle against the ideology of opportunism and for the revolutionary teaching of Marxism-Leninism remains an important concern of communists. Communist parties are waging this struggle in a differentiated way. They remain allies of the workers class in its struggle against monopoly capital and for peace and social progress, differentiating between class enemies and those who err and express incorrect views from time to time.

The last decade has fully confirmed the theoretical conclusions and political assessments of the trends in the present stage of social developments in the world that were drawn and made by the last congresses of the CPSU, the CPCZ, and other fraternal parties. The profound social transformations of the present stage are accompanied by an escalated ideological struggle between the two social systems is the ideopolitical struggle waged by Marxist-Leninists against opportunist tendencies, deviations, and currents in the international workers movement. This struggle concerns various questions of the theory, policy, and organizational forms of the workers movement. The opportunist adversaries of Marxism-Leninism today represent an extraordinarily diverse and heterogeneous entity.

In the foreground of the struggles waged by Marxist-Leninists against opportunists are problems of Marxist-Leninist theory and the experiences of real socialism.

At the turn of the seventies, revisionists together with anticommunists stepped up their attacks on Marxism-Leninism, putting into circulation some "new" doctrines. Some renegades, like R. Garaudy, acknowledge, for example, that Marxism as a teaching is "relativistic"; that is, they are adapting the dogma about the "obsolescence" of Marxism, a dogma that has gone bankrupt, and replacing it with a "new" proposition. Other "critics" of the revolutionary teaching have discovered a "contradiction" between the method and the theory of Marxism. They are ready to "recognize the method," but not the

theory. Revisionism tries to open for "gnosiological pluralism" a path into the world outlook of the proletariat and thus assert the "equality" of all ideologies in the workers movement. Attacks on Leninism, in particular, have strengthened. Revisionist elements are trying to "free" the program and the policy of some communist parties from Lenin's theoretical heritage and to revise his world importance. These and other attempts of the revisionists are, in fact, an indirect recognition of the continuing revolutionary importance of Leninism.

The issue of one's relationship to real socialism has assumed a great importance in the international workers movement and in the ideological struggle between the two social systems in the world. This is a logical result of the development of the revolutionary process, in the course of which not only the theoretical but also the practical question of the choice of the path of social progress has arisen before many nations and their revolutionary and democratic vanguard. Revisionists take advantage of these needs of revolutionary changes that have become ripe. They distort and falsify the very essence of real socialism and conceal its successes.

Rightwing social reformism has come up with so-called democratic socialism, a phony alternative to real socialism. It reduces the essence of socialism to so-called "ethical values" and is not in the least concerned with the ripening need to replace capitalism by socialism.

The 26th CPSU Congress profoundly analyzed the question of specific national ways and forms of the struggle for socialism and socialist construction. The views on this issue expressed in some communist parties distorted Lenin's approach to this problem as well as the historical experiences of real socialism. Instead of analyzing the new conditions of struggle, various opportunist and reformist forces were trying, and continue to try, to split the communist movement into isolated national and regional groups and to impose on it various "reformist" models of socialism. This also fully applies to the so-called Eurocommunism.

In connection with Eurocommunism as one of the manifestations of opportunism and revisionism in the present communist and workers movement, it is necessary to carefully study the socioeconomic and gnosiological causes of its emergence. At the same time it is necessary to see that the problems that Eurocommunism has unfolded into action are real and require an answer, because revisionists attach themselves like parasites onto them. There is no doubt that no one who embarked on the path of Eurocommunism, or said so, set out on the path of opportunism.

In the ideological sense, Eurocommunism did not bring anything new. It was some sort of a hybrid of socialism and capitalism. It suffered a defeat. However, it weakened the parties that identified with it and, in some cases, broke up the communist party's unity. Naturally, a lesson from the activities of Eurocommunism must be drawn by the entire communist movement. However, above all, this must be done by the parties affected by it. It is important to raise the standard of theoretical work to the level of present requirements and to deepen the study of the new problems of struggle and the new conditions under which the communist movement and individual communist parties work.

Lenin was the first to formulate and comprehensively elaborate the idea of the diversity of the paths to and forms of struggle for socialism. "All nations will arrive at socialism, that is inevitable. But not all of them will reach it in the same way, every one of them will contribute its peculiarity to one form of democracy or another, to one pace or another of the social transformations of various aspects of social life." (Footnote 9) (V.I. Lenin: Works, vol 23, Bratislava, State Publishing House of Political Literature 1956, p 62)

Historical experiences from the emergence and shaping of the world socialist system have fully confirmed this idea of Lenin, enriching it even by a diversified, concrete historical content.

A broad range of problems faces the communist movement in the theoretical area. Communist parties are fruitfully and creatively looking for answers to the problems of the revolutionary movement's development. As was underlined by L.I. Brezhnev, "their theoretical orientations contain interesting propositions, although we cannot regard everything as thoroughly worked out and beyond any doubt. This is understandable: Search is search. It is only important that it should be taking the right direction." (Footnote 10) (L.I. Brezhnev: Speeches and Articles 1976-1977, Bratislava, PRAVDA 1978, p 612) The communists of many parties have done a great deal to work out a strategy of class and political alliances, a program of an antimonopoly movement, and to combine the struggle for peace with the struggle for social progress.

The fraternal parties are taking note of new phenomena and trends in the revolutionary struggle and subjecting to a profound analysis the new processes of world social developments. In doing so, they consider also those factors that hamper the struggle for peace, democracy, and socialism and wage an active struggle to overcome them. This principled attitude, which is commensurate with the historical experiences in the struggle against opportunism, was once again strongly demonstrated at the last congresses of the fraternal parties.

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## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### FAILINGS OF MARXIST PHILOSOPHY DISCUSSED

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pp 13-23

[Article by Lecturer Doctor Jindrich Filipec, doctor of Sciences, Philosophy and Sociology Institute attached to the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, Prague, and by Professor Doctor Ladislav Hrzal, Doctor of Sciences, corresponding member of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences and member of the Philosophy and Sociology Institute attached to the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, Prague: "Historical Materialism, Science, and Practice"--article is written in Czech]

[Excerpts] The principles of the direction of the development of social sciences in our country were determined by the conclusions of the 14th-16th CPCZ congresses and the subsequent resolutions, and by other CPCZ Central Committee documents. "Some good results have already been achieved" in the fulfillment of the set tasks--and this also applies to historical materialism Comrade Zdenek Snitil has stressed. (Footnote 1) (See Snitil, Z.: The Tasks of Social Sciences at Present. NOVA MYSL 26, 1982, No 9, p 37) But he also drew attention to the great reserves in this entire sphere, particularly to the necessity to further elaborate some methodological problems, specifically the comprehensive approach to social reality.

If we ponder our philosophical output we see that in Czechoslovakia there are not really many conceptual works and critical reviews. With a few exceptions the works in the sphere of historical materialism are still not yet sufficiently oriented toward the most important problems of the development of the socialist society in a way that more accurately depicts the general essence and historical specifics of the laws that are at work here. A challenge to all of socioscientific research and the sphere of historical materialism is Comrade U. K. Chernenko's speech at the June 1983 session of the CPSU Central Committee, in which he said, among other things: "Life does not unfold in accordance with a preordained plan. Unexpected reverses occur. Equally, unexpected questions also crop up. And one must be able to concentrate scientific forces on them in time." (Footnote 2) (See: Topical Questions of Ideological and Mass Political Work. Materials of the Plenary Session of the CPSU Central Committee 14-15 June 1983. Prague, Svoboda Publishing House, 1983, p 35)

It certainly is a contribution when a number of workers [pracovníci] who were originally active in the sphere of historical materialism, later compiled works with an overwhelmingly sociological or scientific-communist orientation, or contributed in the field of research into the scientific-technical revolution, forecasting, the theory of scientific management, the theory of culture, and similar fields. Of course, problems begin where the aforementioned process of making new scientific disciplines autonomous and separate was accompanied by some worksites by a gradual "drying up" of the field of historical materialism and phenomena of harmful fragmentariness. Historical materialism has its own degree of specificity. It includes the social process as a whole, it has to expose deep-following currents, objective laws which will not permit one to escape into the apparently unprejudiced pursuit of so-called empirical facts or to slide into a dry scholarly theorizing that would lead to the stagnation of further historical-materialistic research.

What is important in our situation is not just to elaborate, perfect, and develop the whole range of categories of historical materialism and take care of its organic entity, but also to strive for them to be manifested in the methodological standard of the research into urgent social problems. In this whole system and in the transfer of scientific knowledge, scientific discussion, the free and comradely exchange of views among scientists, occupies a somewhat overlooked place, as was stressed at the 16th CPCZ Congress. The discussion of the problems of historical materialism in FILOSOFICKÝ CASOPIS [Philosophical Magazine] (Volume 31, No 3-6, vol 32, no 1) opens up scope for such a fruitful exchange of views. Many an interesting thing has already been said in it, but it also shows that our philosophers have rather forgotten how to conduct a discussion. Some downright avoid precisely the most delicate issues and are content to quote foreign authors rather than openly analyze the results of their own work and clearly formulate their views. Acquiring the technique of scientific discussion means at least to understand that a prerequisite or it is the presentation of [word indistinct] standpoints with the objective of achieving a higher degree of unity of views and a deeper knowledge of the issue. And the main thing is that, like all other things in life, also a discussion must not be conducted pro forma only. That is why our aim cannot be a one-shot "action" only, but the lasting process of the development of science, which must range from the most general issues to the content and the solution of specific problems.

Historical materialism can develop only if it contributes with the means at its disposal to clarifying and resolving the most topical issues of our society and at the same time to constantly sharpening and perfecting these instruments of human knowledge and world change. It should also be noted that the elucidation and the study of historical materialism and, of course, of Marxism-Leninism in general should be carried out in the same spirit. One cannot ignore the fact that a considerable part of our young people believe that Marxism-Leninism is being served to it as one of the many disciplines that are often taught rather for exams than for life. That, of course, is also a serious sign for our teachers at all school levels and for extracurricular study who occupy a central place in the process of the rectification of this situation. Of course, what is involved here are not only instances of abstract elucidation of Marxism-Leninism far removed from reality, but also the need to overcome discrepancies between word and deed in life itself.

The ambition of the classics of Marxism-Leninism was never to write scientific works according to academic viewpoints in order that they could all be incorporated in some official classification of sciences. They understood their task as a contribution to the creation of the theoretical consciousness of the masses about their real class interests and struggles, as well as about the true paths to their all-round emancipation.

The insufficient elaboration of the mutual relationship between historical materialism and specific social and natural sciences is a longstanding weakness of our philosophical working centers. The purpose of this task is, above all, to emphasize the unity of all components of Marxism-Leninism, which is the prerequisite for the corresponding comprehension of the processes of building developed socialism. Therefore the issues connected with the subject matter, theory, method, and the system of historical materialism must be, above all, solved in an inseparable connection with the issues of scientific communism, political economics, and, of course, also of Marxist sociology, historiography and so forth.

The tasks of scientific planning and of the management of social development, their all-social (system, comprehensive) character also require an intensive internal development of all scientific disciplines, including new disciplines, their reasonable institutionalization and relatively independent research efforts.

The new standard of differentiation and integration in the sciences does not lead to any sort of "impoverishment" or even "imperilment" of historical materialism. What is actually involved is one of the phenomena of the realization of philosophy in the sense of the known prognosis of classics. A more intensive development of knowledge in further spheres constitutes a retro-active enrichment of historical materialism, which brings impulses for new syntheses. The prerequisite for this knowledge effect, of course, is maintaining relative identity and the creative development of historical materialism, which also includes a constant definition of its subject, methods, and functions.

The network of fundamental linkages between historical materialism and specific sciences is spread very unevenly in our country. What is lacking above all, is a systematic linkage of work in the sphere of historical materialism with political economics, and exceptionally weak here is also the mutual linkage with historical science. And precisely these two sciences are of fundamental importance for elaborating a composite Marxist-Leninist view of reality. Historiography and political economics are of quite particular importance precisely for historical materialism, that is, for a materialistic perception of history. It is up to our historians and political economists to assess how and how much they are striving to follow up on to develop this life-giving linkage. Regarding the workers in the sphere of historical materialism, one has unfortunately to note that monographies or stuides on this essential theme (including doctoral and inaugural theses) are a rare exception.

A somewhat clearer picture has been created on the borderline between philosophy and scientific communism. One also has succeeded in considerably clarifying the relationship between historical materialism and sociology. However, in most cases there is quite a distance between the verbal delineation of these relations and effective cooperation. And thus it happens that on the one hand mountains of more or less supportive empirical data are accumulating without the necessary theoretical interpretation (any synthesis) while, on the other, it is often "theorized" regardless of the results of concrete research into social reality, and that even without knowing them. At the same time the new direction of socialist life, particularly in recent years, provides numerous data calling for scientific generalization, which would contribute to a more enlightened strengthening of trends leading toward communism and to a more energetic suppression of tendencies sometimes oriented not toward development, but--on the contrary--to "enshrining" personality into the form of old-new bourgeoisism.

The methodological function of historical materialism manifests itself particularly clearly when it comes to resolving multidisciplinary themes. This applies to the relationship of historical materialism vis-a-vis the social, as well as natural and technical sciences. A typical example of the fruitfulness and necessity of a consistent application of the historical-materialistic method is the research into the problems of scientific-technical revolution. Czechoslovak science has done a considerable and good job in this respect, which--as is known--has yielded undisputed good results. At the same time, however, it also exposed some weaknesses and unexplored spheres which concern the elaboration of historical-materialistic categories and approaches. Overcoming these shortcomings is a normal, logical phenomenon, accompanying all scientific findings. Comrade R.I. Kosolapov has rightly noted that a number of theoreticians do not see the connection between technology and social relations and that "the proposition about the first-rate importance of the development of production forces in social progress becomes in their eyes some sort of inexplicable divine 'primary cause'." (Footnote 3) (See: Kosolapov, R.K. "Socialism. On Questions of Theory. Prague, Svoboda Publishing House, 1972, p 77) Fluctuations in the perception of this question have occurred in our country too. They had their concrete historical causes whose clarification presupposes the application of the Marxist perception of history to the very development of Marxism and its realization. Thus, for example, at the very beginning of the socialist revolution--particularly immediately following February 1948--the belief spread that the new production relations, and even the ownership relations alone, would soon give birth to a new man. To this belief corresponded the illusion that also the present generations will live in communism. When this illusion ran up against the well-known obstacles, some fell into the other extreme, connected with the conviction about the magic powers of the production forces. The expression of this extreme in our country was sometimes such a verbal invocation of the scientific-technical revolution. That it in fact obscured the fact that it was becoming backward in practice. This unilaterally was then "overcome" in the crisis period by the cult of the market mechanism on the one hand (O. Sik), and by the [word indistinct] of self-management (Z. Mlynar) on the other hand.

The path to really overcoming voluntarist [voluntaristicke], technocratic, or liberal approaches to this task was explained precisely and comprehensively by Comrade Y. Andropov thus: "People who have carried out socialist revolution must for a long time to come learn to master the position of being sovereign and unlimited owner of the entire social wealth; master it economically and politically, and if you want, to psychologically create a collective consciousness and behavior." (Footnote 4) (See: Andropov, Y.V.: Karl Marx's Teaching and Some Issues of the Construction of Socialism in the USSR. RUDE PRAVO, 24 Feb 1983, p 6) In this spirit, the Eighth Session of the CPCZ Central Committee also underlined the entire extent of factors that must enter the process of accelerated application of the results of science and technology in practice. Here, Comrade G. Husak, in his closing word, again pointed out the key factor that the Communist Party represents in this complex as the leading force of society. For the sphere of social sciences this means, among other things, to strive to overcome the situation in which in many works the leading role of the party is mostly just declared. In our country research into and the theoretical elaboration of this issue has a fairly truncated character. However, it is precisely the party's leading role that must be at [words indistinct] to the theoretical and practical resolution of the problems of the political system, social planning, the reproduction process, and to the introduction of science into the life of the socialist society. The leading role of the party is connected with the qualitatively new direction of creating people's way of life, as well as the relentless yearning of the vanguard forces to systematically move on from what has already been achieved.

The Czechoslovak discussion about the historical materialism of the fifties showed that the correct principle requiring the systematic combining of work aimed at defining and developing categorical and methodological equipment [vybavení] of historical materialist with the resolution of topical practical social problems was not consistently realized in research activity. Even then in the discussion itself, some of the participants clearly showed the tendency to academism, to isolate philosophy from politics. However, the extreme of the ivory tower philosophy was soon replaced by the opposite extreme which, as is known, led to the unqualified, direct entry of philosophers into political practice. The isolation of theory from practice alternated with a brief union between philosophy and politics. These former extremes were condemned within the framework of the consolidation process, and we hardly come across them in their explicit form nowadays. However, we have not yet achieved in our philosophy the real overcoming of these mistakes in works that would represent a higher degree of unity between theory and practice in a principled Marxist-Leninist concept, as Comrade J. Fojtik demands in his essay Topical Tasks of Ideological Work. (Footnote 8) (See; Fojtik, J.: Topical Tasks of Ideological Work: Problems of Peace and Socialism, 1982, pp 28-38) Differences naturally exist between the state and the standard of work at individual places of work, and one cannot generalize in a sweeping manner. But if we judge according to results, we can frequently notice the tendency which nowadays conceals in itself variously both elements of isolation from practice and elements of isolation from theory. This trend of double isolation (from theory and from practice) is seen especially clearly in the sphere of historical materialism. Here the absence of theoretical-methodological works is accompanied by a considerable isolation from politics and from life's real problems.



There is no need to formulate any brand new thematic tasks for workers in the sphere of historical materialism, because these have been presented in the state plan of basic research already. There are linked to those results and the experience of the former 5-year plans, which, in contrast to some of their shortcomings proved to be fruitful.

Historical materialism must find its place, above all, as regards the formulation of theoretical solutions, in the method of resolving and synthetizing the results of three key tasks of the social sciences concerning the issue of building developed socialism, the forecast of CSSR development up to the year 2000, and of the theoretical elaboration of the experience of the communist and workers parties acquired in the process of the construction of socialism. The seemingly abstract scientific work in the sphere of historical materialism can play a considerable role in the fulfillment of these tasks in the spirit of the stimulating idea that good theory can often be the most practical thing.

CSO: 2400/354

LEADERS INCREASINGLY FEARFUL OF YOUTH GENERATION

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 13 Jun 84 p 30

[Article by Pentti Sadeniemi: "GDR Youths Don't Kick Up a Row but Leaders Seem to Fear New Generation"]

[Text] Berlin, GDR--Wisbyer Strasse in the old section of Berlin known as Prenzlauer Berg, where facades have been crumbling since the 1940's and are still crumbling. It is a quiet evening and young people are on the move by twos and threes in their own directions.

The corner bars start to fill up. Some belong to older people, while in others young people in jeans drink beer, their heads together, distributed in intimate table groups. There are few drunks and nowhere disturbances of the peace in evidence.

Three punk-culture youths put in an appearance on the street. One of them is just budding and satisfies himself with a couple of shy, punk-culture emblems. Two of them are bolder, their hair dyed a poison-green color. All three are strikingly nice-looking, well-behaved. They really represent something new in the GDR and they know it, but not even the dumbest party boss could mistakenly believe them to be dangerous. Or is that the case?

The "Brunnen Keller" disco in the little town of Eisenach in the southwestern part of the country. They are lined up as early as a half an hour before the doors are opened. No wonder, since the town appears to be otherwise pretty much dead. Smoke from the burning of brown coal and the stench of two-cycle engine exhaust gases sting the throats of the foreign visitors, but the local people seem to be used to the yellow-gray air.

Curious glances -- it takes only a fraction of a second here too to recognize a Westerner. The young people are clad in the neatest of jeans suits. Punk-culture youths are not to be seen anywhere here; they certainly would not be admitted either. A couple of youths have pacifist buttons on their collars, but there is no hint of political protest.

## Western Rock Is Played

Inside, when you get that far, they are of course playing almost pure Western rock. The bartender is apparently a member of the local cell of the youth association, the FDJ (Free German Youth). The maintenance of order is also his job. There are sandwiches on a separate table for the association bigwigs, while others have to stand in line to get drinks for themselves. Everyone is very tame and well-behaved.

The "Youth Talents House" in downtown Berlin. Here too a disco is sometimes gyrating, in addition to which there are jazz evenings and a countless number of hobby circles for those fortunate ones who are qualified to join in. The people waiting on line outside are more cosmopolitan than in Eisenach, but in terms of behavior they too are subject to proper discipline.

Inside, in the club premises, there is another peculiarity: a bust of Lenin which is absolutely firehouse red. It may be carefully considered spontaneity, but it is certainly not a political insult.

Idols of socialist youth far from Hamburg or West Berlin's restless, dangerous nights? That's what one might believe. Yet our strongest impression of the GDR this summer is that it fears its own young people, and fears them a lot. Why does it depend on second-hand information and guesswork?

Involuntary indications of their own feeling of weakness are everywhere evident. Their fear of the young people leads to a fear of those foreigners who have taken it into their heads to come to the country to inquire about youth issues. Officials are reacting to them like Little Red Riding Hood once did to the Big Bad Wolf who snapped at her.

The above-noted impressions were almost stolen. If things depended on GDR leaders, foreigners would be shown only teachers and officials, not young people. From expectation to realization, the program underwent significant changes and all attempts to amend it came to nought.

## Familiarization Difficult

A request to familiarize ourselves with young people's work disappeared without a trace and a week was not enough to comply with a verbal request. The university student body was probably also too dangerous for the foreign visitor. Instead, we were offered the elementary school, whose oldest pupils present were 8-year-olds.

A request to take a look at a Berlin disco accompanied by a (East German) photographer was turned down by the youth association, the FCJ [expansion unknown], in whose opinion places where one can dance apparently fall into the class of government secrets.

To top it all, they went to the trouble of right from the start making it clear to the foreign visitor that it was appropriate to stick to the scheduled program. So we were warned that conversations that might arise outside of it "could not be used for journalistic purposes."

This sort of behavior is, of course, first of all impossibly stupid, secondly quite unnecessary, thirdly counter to the text of the Helsinki ruling and fourthly against their own interests because the credibility of the official information offered at the same time drops right through the floor. So what has gotten into GDR officials, a sliding back into the idiocy of Stalinism or suddenly produced panic? Or both?

Two new factors seem to be behind this spring's fear. One is the influence of the Evangelical churches, which, together with Luther's anniversary and the coming into vogue of the peace movement, appears to have grown a great deal among young people, to the extent that the power of the state has begun to feel itself threatened.

The other is the broader policy of change pursued since the beginning of the year, which appears to be a bad mistake from the standpoint of those in power. It was supposed to relieve social tension, but tension has increased.

Edginess seems to be most in evidence in precisely those areas in which they would not like to show it. Everywhere they expect the foreign visitor to want to inquire about the reasons for the recent wave of change and, if he does not, they assume that he approaches the subject secretly in other ways. The GDR's paid ideologists seem to be on the defensive and therefore behave aggressively.

#### Official Optimism in the Youth Association

Naturally, they admit nothing. At the Berlin headquarters of the official youth association, the FDJ, they speak as they have probably spoken since as early as the 1940's. Afterwards, it amounts to almost the same thing whether one leafs through one's notes or the handbook published by the FDJ: In both of them resounds that insipid, official optimism that is maintained, no matter whether reality is behind it or anything else.

One of our three conversation partners at the FDJ was already middle-aged or close to it and the two others were under 30 years of age, obviously apparatchiks who had risen rapidly in their careers. They in fact rather reminded us of our student politicians; an overdose of energy, firm-seeming elbows, in their behavior an automatic antipathy toward anything foreign, in their souls a gaping intellectual void cloaked with pseudointellectual phrases.

A foreigner leaves the conversation thinking that a considerable portion of the problem of the GDR youth policy is probably manifest in just this kind of behavior. One would think that anyone at all would want to flee from the guardianship of such power assistants — into his private life, punk gangs, the church and, in the end, even away from his homeland, to the West... actually, anywhere at all where one can find something genuine or spontaneous.

FDJ members nevertheless deny that they are in any sort of competitive situation with the church. They teach that there is a home for the pious too in the youth organization, if only their basic attitude toward socialism is favorable. They admit that today's young GDR citizen has become more demanding than his predecessors: Not just any old explanation is any longer acceptable to him.

## Questions for the Party

This observation was repeated in three or four other conversations with educators of young people. The need for improving the quality of official propaganda seems to be widely recognized. How such improvement can be achieved when guidance remains the same was not more specifically explained.

The party has for about 40 years now reminded youths what all the state provides them with: a free education, social security, training, although not always for a job in keeping with their dreams, cheap rentals and the basic necessities, etc.

It is all true, but also taken for granted by a generation that has grown up with these things. Now that generation is asking why they still have to wait so long for a place to live, to say nothing of a car, why dressing oneself in style demands such an exorbitant amount of bother and money, why a portable cassette recorder costs an average month's salary and a color television 4 months' wages, and above all why traveling abroad is the privilege of a rare few, one that is meted out sparingly and with suspicion.

Why is the answer to all questions only in terms of one doctrine and why does it have to be a tedious one, why is a spontaneous peace action a virtue in the West but a reason for throwing you in jail in the GDR, why is information on environmental hazards provided only sparingly if at all and why was it for 2 days a crime to claim that the Korean airliner was shot down when finally on the third day it turned out that it had after all been shot down?

These are mostly questions to which the standard answer of those who hold the monopoly of power is: "Keep your mouth shut!" No wonder that young people run to listen to the words of the pastor of the nearest church, even though they do not give a damn about religion. The pastor at least lets them ask questions.

## Church Provided Discussion

On church doors everywhere there are announcements inviting people to discussion sessions. A cathedral in the very heart of Berlin twice a week offers help to those people who "want to talk with someone even just once," "feel lonely and left alone" or "have lost their faith in God and people."

On the doors of the FDJ offices they do not offer to talk things over with "those who have lost their faith in Lenin." There would probably be too many of them.

The officials still hold all the cards and that is just why their fear seems to be so significant. The state, which is simultaneously the only educator and (almost) the only employer, can always force people into external obedience. Aside from academic achievements, university positions still also depend on "a positive attitude toward socialism," to say nothing of vacation advantages and such like.

What they probably most fear is that a foreigner might find his way into those unofficial small youth groups through the formation of which information is now and then circulated. In some of them they discuss environmental issues, in some peace, in some they discuss women's liberation and in some others the philosophy of life, either on the periphery of some church or just anyhow, but always detached from the watchful eye of the party and the FDJ.

In some of them perhaps they even talk about the death of the ideology, about German solidarity and the national heritage in a divided country. A system that concerns itself with fearing such activities also has reason for its fear: the paradox of GDR citizens in the summer of 1984.

11,466

CSO: 3617/179

HUNGARY

LACK OF RESPECT, REMUNERATION FOR PARLIAMENT BEMOANED

Budapest HETI VILAGGAZDASAG in Hungarian 28 Apr 84 pp 62-63

/Interview with Jozsef Karenyi, parliamentary representative, delegate of Bacs-Kiskun County's Electoral District No 4, chief architect of Kecskemet, by Endre Babos: "Too Much of the Development Funds End Up in the 'Central Hat';" date and place not given

/Text Political scientists and state attorneys have been saying for years that our legislative activity is limited. The Hungarian parliament passes only three to five laws a year and many basic social norms that directly affect the population are made by the Ministerial Presidium or other legislative organizations instead of the parliament making the decisions publicly in these issues. We asked Jozsef Kerenyi (45 years old), parliamentary representative, delegate of Bacs-Kiskun County's Electoral District No 4, chief architect of Kecskemet, what he personally thinks the possibilities are for him to express his opinions constantly and effectively in national issues.

/Question The establishment in April of the parliament's Constitutional Council and the new voting system to be introduced next year seem to reflect the recognition that an adequate organizational framework must be worked out to make legislation more effective. But some people also think that the political weight of the members of the parliament cannot be increased without improving the technical, administrative and financial conditions in the work of the representatives. You expressed this opinion in one of the parliament's plenary sessions.

/Answer The Hungarian parliament is, I think, one of the world's most expensive parliaments but, from a different aspect, it is also one of the most inexpensive ones. In speaking of expensiveness, I am thinking of the exceptionally high cost of maintaining the parliament building which is one of the world's most valuable buildings, ideally suited for legislative work. On the other hand, our national assembly is perhaps one of the world's lowest paid institutions of popular representation. Our parliamentary representatives receive 2,000 forints a month.

/Question/ The issue can be raised also by saying that, since the Hungarian parliament has only six or seven sessions a year, the annual remuneration of 24,000 forints is not too low.

/Answer/ The total benefits for the representatives include, in addition to the remuneration, a free pass for traveling on any of the nation's public conveyances. Most of the representatives use the remuneration to cover even the costs of typing and mailing their correspondence lodging (when the representative is from another town and the session lasts 2 days) and meals during the session, for they must pay the usual catering prices in the parliament. The costs also include telephone bills; I for one make business calls at home amounting to 700 to 1,000 forints a month. I am not saying all this to imply that the remuneration of the representatives should be increased. It would be much more important to improve the representatives' working conditions. For instance, they are not allowed to use state cars when needed and are not reimbursed for the cost of using their own cars. I must say that only those high-ranking lawmakers are allowed to use all available means necessary for their work who, because of their position, already have these means to begin with.

/Question/ Incidentally, the members of the parliament, including you, offered a month's pay each year for the construction of the National Theater until its completion. At the same time, as an architect, you have been voicing your reservations, together with others, regarding the plans of the new theater.

/Answer/ I strongly believe that now is the time to build the National Theater. One of my colleagues hit the nail in the head by saying that our first national theater was not built during a period of boom either but in a period when the nation had to become conscious of its resources. This is why I agreed that the parliament offer a month's pay for the theater. I did not, and still do not, agree that it should be built according to a plan that was made in 1965 and has been revised several times. Thus we recommended to the Association of Architects to publicly solicit competitive plans to assure that the allocated 3 billion forints yield the best possible theater.

/Question/ One characteristic aspect of being a representative in Hungary is that our representatives have another primary job. Do they have enough time and energy left for public service?

/Answer/ Fortunately, representatives have more work to do than I expected in 1980, before having been elected. This is why I myself have been thinking a great deal about the possibilities of carrying out these tasks without pay. No doubt, the present solution has a bright side, namely, we are not isolated, facing the same problems in our every-day work as our constituents and thus we are able to see society from a similar viewpoint. But this has a price: being a representative in addition to one's main job is more than one person can do.



/Question/ You mentioned that your work involves more than you expected. What are you dealing with now as a representative?

/Answer/ First, a representative must fulfill the requirements of his main job. Then, four times each year, he participates in the sessions of the national assembly. Most representatives are also members of one or another standing parliamentary committee; I for one as member of the Committee on Construction and Transportation. According to general practice, the representatives are also elected in one of the councils of their region; I am chairman of the Subcommittee on Monuments of the Council of Bacs-Kiskun County. In addition to these responsibilities, I also have, of course, office hours and deal with various issues: I am trying to support on various forums the endeavors of the 30,000 citizens of my electorate. These may be heavy words but I still feel that under the present working conditions these tasks cannot be carried out with full intensity for more than one term--unless one does not care about health.

/Question/ What is the reason that, in speaking of the parliament's work in the parliamentary speech previously mentioned, you were urging a better working atmosphere in this lavishly lit and luxurious conference room?

/Answer/ An open debate is going on in the parliament's standing committees. For example, the problems of the supply of construction materials were assessed already in 1982 by the parliament's Committee on Construction and Transportation. This spirit of debate should be carried over into the parliament's large conference room. I must add, incidentally, that in this conference room the technical and physical conditions suitable for constructive debates should be created. For example, in a 1982 session one of my colleagues from Baranya County called upon the minister of transportation regarding problems of transportation in small towns. The minister's reply was unacceptable for many representatives. Votes and countervotes were counted "manually" which took a long time. According to the count, the minister's reply was supported by a small majority but the vote counting was awkward. In my opinion, today, in the age of electronics, it would be hardly a problem to install push-button vote counting equipment in the house of the nation.

/Question/ The constituents generally expect the representatives to fight for various central benefits and development funds. In today's economic conditions, what are the possibilities for getting these?

/Answer/ I will give you an example. In Matkopuszta, which is in my district, people have been requesting for years to have the road paved that leads to the school on the outskirts of the town. This elementary school has almost 150 children, and paving the 1.5-km road would cost at least 1.5 million forints. So much money for this purpose is unavailable today. However, by using a French technology, it might

be possible to build an experimental road for only 300,000 to 500,000 forints which will be able to handle passenger cars, although not heavy trucks. In spite of such representative accomplishments, I think that such "fights" by representatives should be eliminated in the future. For I think the accomplishments made in individual cases are less important and less encouraging than the addendum to the sixth 5-year plan, according to which a larger portion of material resources are to be made available for the development of small towns. As a representative whose district is represented by almost all types of towns, I can consider the sentence above only as an initial sign of a road that leads to the development of a more just distribution among the towns. At present, too large a part of the development funds end up in the "central hat" and redistribution is based on too many subjective factors.

9414

CSO: 2500/369

## BRIEFS

CHERNENKO SPEECHES PUBLISHED--A selection of speeches and articles by Konstantin Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, has been published, under the title "On the Path of the 26th Congress," under the auspices of the Kossuth book publishers. The volume includes the full texts of K. Chernenko's speech at the June 1983 session of the CPSU Central Committee; his article entitled "the Ideology of Revolutionary Creation and Peace"; the speeches made by him on the occasion of his election as general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and as Supreme Soviet deputy of the Moscow Kuybishev constituency; the text of the 9 April 1984 Moscow PRAVDA interview; and the speech made by him at the 25 April meeting of the committees established to prepare a newly-formulated CPSU program. [Text]  
[AU121420 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 9 Jun 84 p 21]

FRG OFFICIAL VISITS--Lothar Spath, prime minister of the Baden Wurttemberg Land of the FRG, arrived on an official visit to Hungary on Wednesday, 30 May invitation of Jozsef Marjai, deputy prime minister. Jozsef Marjai and Lothar Spath began their talks at the Parliament during the day. They dealt with the current issues of international politics and world economy and viewed the possibilities for further development of bilateral economic and industrial cooperation between the Hungarian People's Republic and the FRG. They concluded that Hungarian enterprises have mutually advantageous widespread cooperation relations with firms in Baden Wurttemberg. They discussed the conditions for enlarging the cooperation to new areas of activity and enriching its forms. Lothar Spath also held talks with Peter Veress, foreign trade minister. [Text]  
[AU031500 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 31 May 84 p 4]

SOVIET PARTY WORKERS DELEGATION--A Soviet party workers delegation led by Anatoly Chernyayev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee, deputy head of the international department of the Central Committee, paid a visit to Hungary from 28 to 30 May at the invitation of the MSZMP Central Committee. The delegation was received by Matyas Szuros, secretary of the Central Committee. Gyula Horn, head of the MSZMP Central Committee's Foreign Affairs Department, and Laszlo Kovacs, deputy head of department, held talks with the guests on the current issues of the [Not complete]

POLISH TRADE MINISTER DEPARTS--Taeusz Nestorowicz, foreign trade minister of the Polish People's Republic paid a visit to the Budapest International Fair from 25 to 26 May at the invitation of Peter Veress, foreign trade minister. The two ministers held an exchange of views on this occasion on the current issues of Hungarian-Polish exchange of goods. Tadeusz Nestorowicz left Hungary on Saturday, 26 May. [Text] [AU032019 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 27 May 84 p 3]

POLISH JUSTICE MINISTER VISITS--At the invitation of Minister of Justice Dr Imre Markoja, Polish Minister of Justice Dr Lech Domeracki has arrived, as head of a delegation, in our country. The ministers will brief each other on timely aspects of legislation and the administration of justice and discuss the further development of legal and judicial relations. [Text] [AU032019 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 29 May 84 p 8]

HUNGARIAN-POLISH ACADEMIC TALKS--Zdislaw Kaczmarek, general secretary of the Polisy Academy of Sciences, has visited Hungary. During his stay he held talks with Lenard Pal, general secretary of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, on cooperation between the two countries' academies of sciences, the up-to-date tasks of the current period, and the preparation of the work plan for scientific cooperation for the next 5-year period. The general secretary of the Polish Academy of Sciences was received on Tuesday, 29 May, by Istvan Sarlos, deputy minister. [Text] [AU032019 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 30 May 84 p 4]

BELORUSSIAN DEPUTY PREMIER VISITS--Jozsef Marjai, deputy prime minister, received on Wednesday, 30 May, Vadim Ivanovich Ikritskiy, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic. At the talks they exchanged views on several issues of Hungarian-Soviet economic and technical-scientific relations with particular emphasis on the possibilities for developing direct relations between the Hungarian People's Republic and the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic. The delegation held talks with Mrs Janos Ieseru, co-chairman of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce, and Laszlo Kapolyi, minister of industry. The delegation was received by Laszlo Ballai, head of the economic policy department of the MSZMP Central Committee. The delegation then concluded its visit in Hungary. [Text] [AU032019 Budapest MAGYAR MIRLAP in Hungarian 31 May 84 p 4]

CSO: 2500/431

INTERIOR MINISTRY OFFICIAL DISCUSSES NEW LEGAL PROPOSALS

Warsaw PRAWO I ZYCIE in Polish 28 Apr 84 pp 3,5

[Interview with Brig Gen Lucjan Czubinski, Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs, by Malgorzata Piasecka-Sobkiewicz and Ryszard Czerniawski: "We Have No Enforcement Powers"]

/Below is an interview by PRAWO I ZYCIE with Brig Gen Lucjan Czubinski, Deputy Chairman of the Committee of the Council of Ministers for Adherence to Law, Public Order and Social Discipline, and Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs./ [printed in boldface]

[Question] The state of public security and safety is causing justified anxiety among the society. People are increasingly vocal in demanding a more effective struggle against crime as well as improved protection of their health and property. Has the establishment, late last year by the government, of the Committee of the Council of Ministers for Adherence to Law, Public Order and Social Discipline, helped improve the situation?

[Answer] The Committee which I represent is one of several active under the government. Its tasks include taking measures to promote, among other things, adherence to the legal procedure, assurance of public security and safety, strengthening social discipline, curtailment of the causes and conditions promoting the growth of crime, and counteracting speculation, poor management, waste and other manifestations of social pathology.

The Committee should be regarded as the inspirer and coordinator of measures being taken by the agencies and institutions engaging in law enforcement as well as by those engaging in control, inspection and auditing. At the same time, let me make it clear that the Committee lacks enforcement powers: it can't order anyone to do anything. But the agencies it invites for mutual discussion have these powers. By contrast, government bodies and social bodies--and hence also our Committee--have the right to also comment on the performance of the judiciary, the procuratures, the militia and control institutions.

Recently we organized a meeting of representatives of the procurature, the militia and control elements, so that they all could express their opinions

about their own performance and that of others. I will not conceal that the discussion at that meeting was fairly sharp, but previously such meetings had been lacking. In this way the activities of different structures can be better coordinated, and at that on the basis of not formal regulations but a better utilization and mutual complementation of the possibilities and competences of each. For example, when the State Inspectorate of Trade (PIH) uncovers certain irregularities, it can report them to the organization exercising the jurisdiction over the unit in which the irregularities are discovered, but it lacks the power of demanding that specific measures be taken to eliminate these irregularities. At our meeting it was established that cases of this kind would be followed up by a procurature endowed with appropriate powers.

If the struggle against pathology and crime is to be effective, the situation has to be properly explored. The Committee must investigate certain matters in an analytic manner so as to afterward deduce certain overall conclusions from correct general theses. For example, there is the rather popular opinion that we shall emerge from the [economic] crisis only after the store shelves become full. But must this mean that until that time the law should remain in abeyance and not intervene to rectify injustices? It is not possible to wait until, after the store shelves become full, the problems relating to speculation and mass hoarding of goods become solved of themselves.

[Question] You mentioned a "roundtable" meeting. What are the most important topics discussed at meetings of this kind?

[Answer] Their number has become fairly large. For example, there is the problem of revising the penal proceedings. The penal code specifies the period within which penal proceedings should be completed: one month. However, "completion of the proceedings" has to be construed as the preparation of the bill of indictment or some other way in which the case is ended on its merit. It is not construed as the transfer of the dossier by the militia to the public prosecutor. Thus, the MO [Citizens' Militia] cannot conduct the proceedings for an entire month. This also raises the question of what should be done if the public prosecutor's office receives the dossier on the 28th day (from the day the proceedings are instituted), e.g. on a Friday. The representatives of the prosecuting organs justifiably conclude that in such a situation the public prosecutor should prepare the bill of indictment on a Saturday--even if it is a Saturday off--and subsequently be granted a day off on, e.g. Monday. Unfortunately, in such cases the bad practice of writing the bill of indictment on a Monday has become rooted in some places.

Another problem is the duration of the judicial proceedings. In principle, the regulations specify no time limit in such cases for the courts. However, society demands that the proceedings be not too protracted.

The next important problem is the detention policy. People often ask why the perpetrators of certain terrible crimes are not arrested prior to their trial. In this connection, statistics are cited showing that this preventive measure is not applied toward 12 percent of rape suspects and 40 percent of robbery suspects. Thus, this detention policy has to be explained logically and convincingly. This should be done by the public prosecutors or the judges.

Unfortunately, it appears that they rarely are in contact with the society concerning these matters. Here the point is not that they should explain to the public solely the principles of functioning of the law but that they should demonstrate the authenticity of their action in behalf of the society. The militia also should be more aware of what is expected of it by the public. This does not mean at all that it should adapt itself to all of the public's wishes. But it should be aware of them and take them into consideration insofar as applicable.

Lastly, there is the question of judicial independence. The courts depend on the state and issue their verdicts in the name of the Polish Republic, the People's Republic. The judge is independent only in deciding on the verdict, but he should issue his verdicts in the name of the state and the law.

[Question] The Committee's activities so far indicate that it intends to opine on the penal policy. In which direction? That of greater severity or greater leniency?

[Answer] Above all, the aim should be to make the punishment fit the crime on a more individualized basis. General prevention in penal policies should be geared more closely to particular prevention pertaining to individual malefactors. The punishment should be tailored to the nature of the crime, the manner in which it is committed and the behavior of the perpetrator before, during and after committing the crime. Thus, general methods of administering punishment cannot be worked out.

You asked whether punishments should be more severe or more lenient. Need it be said at all that our judicial verdicts are harsh? Figures reported by the Ministry of Justice show that, for example, in 1983 272 persons were indicted for homicide or attempted homicide, and of these 9 received the death penalty while 67 were sentenced to 25 years in prison. As for the punishment for robbery, prison sentences of from 8 to 15 years were meted out to 19.5 percent of the total number of persons indicted for this crime.

Thus, the statistics and indicators speak for themselves, but nevertheless I see no need for advocating solely more severe penalties.

At the same time, I would propose considering the possibility of revising the regulations governing the serving of sentences. For example, there are the regulations governing conditional pre-term releases. The previous penal code permitted releases after one-half of the sentence is served. Since 1970 only juveniles have been eligible for this right, while others qualify for the conditional release only after serving two-thirds of their sentences. Until 1970 a person sentenced to 3 years of prison could be released after 1.5 years. Now he can be released only after 2 years. Thus, for such a short sentence as 3 years the stay in a penal establishment was prolonged by 6 months. I would propose that the procedure for conditional pre-term release be made more flexible by making not only juveniles but also women, the elderly and perhaps also certain other groups eligible for a pardon after serving one-half of their sentences. It should also be considered whether in some cases prison terms might not be shortened even further. After all, the very fact of

facing the court as the accused and being sentenced in itself produces a sufficiently resocializing effect on a certain category of people. Thus, the question of surmounting formalism in this respect is highly important. The present regulations allow--in addition to the conditional release--an earlier departure from the penal establishment solely owing to a pardon granted by the Council of State.

[Question] Should not therefore the need to broaden the catalogue of punishments be considered, along with the need to place greater emphasis on the application of non-incarcerating punishments?

[Answer] In some cases--I believe--turning the additional punishment into punishment itself would be more effective--for example, prohibiting the holding of certain posts. Such a punishment is felt by certain individuals more keenly than being fined a considerable sum of money or being placed on probation. In addition, judicial verdicts should be more often publicized in a special way. Of course, there exist individuals on whom this produces no impression, but members of certain occupational or professional groups or communities are very keenly affected by such punishment.

[Question] According to the opinions expressed by our readers, the proposed increases in fines are shocking. Who could afford paying 5 million zlotys, particularly when his property is confiscated as well?

[Answer] Whoever can afford it, will pay. Please believe me that some people would prefer to pay this fine than be sentenced to another kind of punishment. But as for the policy followed in deciding on fines, that is another matter. After all, the applicable regulations themselves specify certain possibilities. Thus, the amount of the fine meted out will have to be individualized. A fine of 5,000 zlotys can be just as painful to a person who has to pay that much each month for social services while keeping just as much to live on. The fine should become not a symbol but a punishment keen enough to affect the defendant. The fine as the sole punishment should be applied more often than in the past. It should also be considered whether a fine should be additionally imposed when placing a person on probation. For it may happen that the defendant would be doubly punished as it were: he pays the fine and thereupon his probation is revoked even if he commits a minor infraction of the law.

The penal policy is linked to altering the manner in which the sentence is served. There is a need to consider seriously establishing work centers at which convicted persons could work in conditions of semi-freedom, for example, when clearing the windbreaks in the Bieszczady. They could be visited there by their families and be granted passes for trips home as well. They would receive wages for their work, for which they would be entirely free to volunteer. Persons sentenced to short terms of imprisonment would have the choice of working at such centers or serving their sentences in prison.

[Question] Of a certainty, the most controversial proposal is that of empowering juries to pass verdicts independently in certain cases. The related



apprehensions stem from the quality of the juries, their limited knowledge of the law and passivity during trials.

[Answer] Jury members are, after all, people's judges. Current regulations place them on par with professional judges. I agree that the quality of the jury members justifies certain reservations, but entrusting them with verdict-passing powers without participation by professional judges would surely contribute to elevating their role. After all, court dockets are getting increasingly longer while the number of professional judges is not growing. Thus this problem has somehow to be solved. The Committee has proposed this idea. Besides, before it eventually is translated into reality, it would be necessary to prepare thoroughly the roster of cases in which juries would be competent to pass verdicts, as well as the trial procedures, etc. The requirement of legal education could also be imposed on independently deciding juries. In some countries, provisional solutions of this kind have been applied in such situations. Or perhaps the courts would utilize better their own potential--which I believe exists--and cope on their own with the backlog.

Besides, the Committee's proposals do not have to be adopted. We merely offer draft decrees and transmit them for consultation with the society. The road from proposals to legislation can be quite long.

[Question] Recently a large number of regional conferences has been held for the purpose of discussing matters relating to the assurance of public safety and security in this country. Their convening was inspired by the Committee.

[Answer] For the first time, representatives of all concerned agencies and institutions, both at the central and at the local levels, sat down together at the same table. Concurrently with these conferences, sessions of province defense committees were held. The topics of discussion were ways and means of energizing organs of the state. In April the Council of State recommended that the presidiums of people's councils hold expanded sessions dealing with these topics--for this also concerned involving the society more actively. I believe that the right approach should be to make discrete agencies and the entire society aware of their role, place and possibilities for action.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

1386

CSO: 2600/1002

PROBLEMS OF INTELLIGENTSIA DEBATED

Warsaw PROBLEMY MARKSIZMU-LENINIZMU in Polish No 1, 1984 pp 193-197

[Article by Zdzislaw Slowik: "Scholarly Conference in the Institute for Fundamental Problems of Marxism-Leninism at the PZPR Central Committee: Problems of the Polish Intelligentsia"]

[Text] The scholarly conference held on 6-7 February 1984 by the Institute for Fundamental Problems of Marxism-Leninism [IPPM-L] at the PZPR Central Committee was focused on the key problems of the contemporary Polish Intelligentsia--its place within the social framework, its differentiation due to historical development as well as to past and ongoing recent changes, its attitudes and opinions concerning the complex conditioning of the country's development, and finally its role in overcoming the difficulties and solving the nation's problems. A major group of representatives of various scholarly communities, political writers, and civic activists representing various groups of the Polish intelligentsia participated in the debate.

The debate was opened by Professor Hieronim Kubiak, member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Science Council of the IPPM-L, who announced that the party leadership intended to raise the problems of the role of the intelligentsia at a plenary session of the Central Committee. The party leadership is aware of the difficulties which have arisen in the consciousness of the Polish intelligentsia. That is why it would like to learn as fully as possible their essence and causes, and to use this knowledge in order to initiate actions apt to set in motion the mechanism of its activity and of broader than heretofore participation of the intelligentsia communities in solving various social problems. To accomplish that, however, it first seems unavoidable to answer the question of what the Polish intelligentsia is like and what determines its unique character within the social framework. The Polish intelligentsia--Professor Hieronim Kubiak continued--combines two heritages: the heritage of the 19th century gentry and the heritage of the industrialized society. The former has been expressed through the awareness of its own identity, its social and cultural role in the life of the entire national community, through a relatively high degree of coherence of values which provides the specific ethos of this social stratum; the latter is linked, above all, to its plebeian roots, despite the widespread tendency to belittle or even to reject them, and is expressed

through the extremely differentiated systems of values, and--in the sociological meaning of the term--represents a sum total of professional categories, rather than a coherent stratal structure. The intelligentsia derived from the latter tradition, as the result of changes which have taken place over the 40 years of People's Poland, prevails within the structure of the intelligentsia regarded as an entity; not just statistically, but also as far as its specific life style, mode of thinking, and opinions are concerned. Within this heritage the technical intelligentsia has a particular role to play. Knowing all the pertinent facts is especially important --the opening remarks went on--if one takes into account the difficulties which have grown even within this part of the intelligentsia and which assume the form of not fully satisfying the expectations to which it has been linked. Hence the following questions are being posed: have those expectations been properly formulated, and do the conditions exist to allow their full satisfaction? Concluding his opening remarks, Professor Hieronim Kubiak pointed out the current financial situation of the Polish intelligentsia, the need to think over the role and the function of the intelligentsia throughout the entire nation's life (the role of experts, *inter alia*), as well as the need to intensify the realistic self-awareness of the Polish intelligentsia, set free of its 19th century illusions and mystifications.

Four papers were then read to the audience; the first to take the floor was Professor Wladyslaw Markiewicz, who dealt with problems of the historical changeability of the ethos of the Polish intelligentsia. His introductory remarks stressed the unique character of the Polish intelligentsia, as compared to the role and place of similar social strata in other European countries, and then defined this social stratum as educated people engaged in mental activity; the speaker then drew attention to the fact that the ethos of the intelligentsia had been shaped essentially during the first half of the last century, and thus reflected the then-existing condition of the nation and of the state. It was that circumstance which has produced among the components of this ethos, and by the same token of the ethos of the intelligentsia, the creation and propagation of cultural values particularly bound to demonstrate the national identity. For the same reasons, the then-existing intelligentsia assumed its specific mission toward the contemporary and future generations of Poles. Even then, however, the differentiation within the intelligentsia had emerged, due, *inter alia*, to the differentiated sphere in which it discharged its cultural creative role, as well as to the various ways in which it used to fulfill that role. Professor Markiewicz concluded his remarks by saying that we are witnessing at present a rapid process of professionalization of the intelligentsia, possibly due to the new methods and techniques of creation and propagation of ideological and cultural values.

Professor Janusz Reykowski referred to the motif derived from the differentiation within the Polish intelligentsia, and at the same time pointed out that there are many essential similarities apparant within this stratum, he devoted major attention to a characterization of the problems derived from the need to reach an agreement between the authorities and the intelligentsia, in particular with the opinion-making intelligentsia communities. The

difficulties in this area have been caused by preferences for different hierarchies of values: from the standpoint of the authorities, the supremacy within this hierarchy belongs to *raison d'etat*, to the interest of the ruling class, to law and order, to political interest, and, finally, to social discipline; on the other hand, the values preferred by the humanistic intelligentsia include freedom, in particular freedom of expression, substantiality of the individual and of the society, self-government, justice.

It is significant that the two "parties" concur in advocating democracy, sovereignty, and national identity, but attach different meaning to those values, and that in turn makes the existing divergences even more profound. Nonetheless, those divergences could and would be overcome; such is the logic of the objective processes of development. To accomplish this, the paper went on, the role of the two factors which render the reconciliation process even more difficult has to be overcome, or at least minimized. Dealing with the problem in a descriptive way, the crux of the matter lies, on the one hand, in overcoming a certain feeling of discrimination apparent among a part of the intelligentsia (problems of prestige, of free access to scholarly and cultural assets, standards of material life, etc), and, on the other hand, in getting rid of considerable layers of distrust toward the authorities on the part of the intelligentsia. Within the process of achieving reconciliation the most essential issue concerns, however, the joint effort to promote development and to improve ways of governance, as well as to strengthen the substantiality of the individual and of society. That would seem to be the level on which cooperation could be broadened and developed, followed by narrowing down the area of existence and activity of the "alternative circuit," as well as by reduction and abolishment of various grievances, resentments, and grudges.

Professor Jaroslaw Ladosz in his paper raised some fundamental issues connected with the scholarly value of the term "intelligentsia." Recalling the countless attempts undertaken to define this *sui generis* social group, the intelligentsia, the speaker focused on analyzing the many misunderstandings involved in the problem. One of these misunderstandings concerns the treatment of the intelligentsia as a class, ascribing to the intelligentsia interests basically different from the interests of the working class. The speaker, referring to remarks made by V. I. Lenin in his polemics against the social revolutionaries, then dealt with the various aspects of perceiving the intelligentsia as a social stratum and of its differentiation. Emphasizing the importance of class and historical analysis, Professor Jaroslaw Ladosz pointed out that, even under conditions of socialist construction, the intelligentsia reflects the correlation of forces and the resulting differences within and among the principal classes which emerge at that stage of historical development. The intelligentsia has no interests of its own nor has it elaborated its own *sui generis* ethos; and the economic factors play just a minor role in shaping its consciousness and attitudes.

Professor Jerzy J. Wiatr, head of the IPPM-L at the PZPR Central Committee, devoted his paper to the issue of mutual relations between the intelligentsia

and the socialist state. The understanding of those relations closely involves the need for clear-sighted analysis of its pedigree and of the resulting differentiation within the contemporary Polish intelligentsia, political differentiation included. In the light of research previously done, it appears, however, that there is no direct positive relation between the pedigree and the attitudes towards the state, nor between political attitudes and the social pedigree of the intelligentsia. The degree of existing correlation remains below the threshold of statistical substance, and that indicates the need to proceed with further research analyses in order to discover, in the most comprehensive way possible, such relations between the intelligentsia and the socialist state. One of those essential analytical methods involves historical reflection, which most pointedly reveals the three thresholds with which the intelligentsia has been confronted during the four decades of People's Poland, each of them demanding a specific option. Professor Jerzy Wiatr described in turn the first threshold due to the need to undertake construction of a socialist society in Poland, and pointed out the broad, genuine support essentially given by the entire Polish intelligentsia to this act of creation of a new system. From the point of view of the intelligentsia, October 1956 became the second threshold, and the events of August 1980 the third one. The speaker pointed out that the complex character of the third threshold was due to the extent of the social protest, as well as to the fact that an exceptionally active right-wing extremism has emerged within this movement, has formulated its own programs and its maximalistic demands. It is most significant that part of the intelligentsia constituted the vanguard of this right-wing extremism, and frequently acted consciously to promote the escalation of events, producing a sui generis philosophy of "renewal" which left no place for different thinking, no place for the Communist intelligentsia. Professor Jerzy Wiatr underscored the need to understand all those facts in full, and added that the need thus follows for consistent implementation of the policy of dialogue and reconciliation with all those who are not opposed to the political system of People's Poland. What is needed is a policy as patient and realistic as it is fundamental, and within its framework there is, above all, the call for an alliance between the intellectual left and the leading part of the working class, an alliance which, inter alia, remains a major factor in improving the functioning machinery of the socialist state.

The theses presented in the papers were interestingly expounded during the debate, which was by no means free of arguments and polemical points. The speakers were: Prof Jerzy Adamski, Prof Zdzislaw Cackowski, Dr Andrzej Falinski, Prof Leszek Gilejko, Prof Wladyslaw Jacher, Prof Kazimierz Kwasniewski, Prof Witold Niecunski, Dr Boguslaw Ponikowski, Dr Wieslaw Rehan, Prof Janusz Sztumski, and Dr Andrzej Tudek.

Another motif which appeared during the debate concerned issues of terminology and methodology, involved in the understanding of the term "intelligentsia." What is it, how does it differ from other social structures, what does its internal differentiation look like, what elements contribute to the fact that the intelligentsia is, after all, a distinct social stratum with definite specific features of its own? The debate confirmed and expounded the idea alluded to in the papers, that in present-day

Poland there are essentially two different groups which constitute the intelligentsia stratum, two different--to some extent--pedigrees, which should not, however, be identified with approval for two separate sets of value. Many speakers pointed out that it is in the sphere of values that one can discern an irregular but clearly apparent process of unification, a certain phenomenon of assimilation of living standards, as well as intense development of an integrating system of values. The process of shaping that system of values is paralleled by the emergence of premises for self-identification of the intelligentsia, its place and role in the changing social and cultural reality. The process is not a smooth one: it involves many contradictions, as well as numerous factors which prevent the intelligentsia from acquiring its own perception of its place in the authentic reality. There is, above all, striking evidence of frustration, of not yet extinguished grievances, and of a certain mood of expectancy for the implementation of those aspirations and expectations of the intelligentsia which so often assume a dimension of grand illusions, albeit frequently noble ones.

There is, above all, striking evidence in the authentic reality. There is, above all, striking evidence of frustration, of not yet extinguished grievances, and of a certain mood of expectancy for the implementation of those aspirations and expectations of the intelligentsia which so often assume a dimension of grand illusions, albeit frequently noble ones.

It was pointed out during the debate that given such a background, the policy followed by the Marxist-Leninist party and by the socialist state toward the intelligentsia is of exceptional significance; its main feature should include the target of ideological integration of this social stratum around the ideals and the practice of socialism, the construction of a joint community based on ambitious and mature goals set up for the intelligentsia, and the treatment of it as a mature partner for the authorities.

The climate of mutual relationship should be permeated by discursive dialogue which rules out sterile moralizing or coercive measures; simultaneously, honesty and fundamentality of such relations are also necessary. Everybody agreed that given such a prospect, the most urgent task involves at present the construction of mutual trust, overcoming the surviving obstacles on the road to active participation of all the represented intelligentsia communities in the process of socialist renewal, in the great effort to improve the functioning of the state and of national life.

12485

CSO: 2600/1023

CHAIRMAN VIEWS NEW LABOR PROTECTION COUNCIL

PM180825 Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 29 May 84 p 4

[Interview with Kazimierz Siporski, chairman of the Labor Protection Council, by INTERPRESS correspondent Teresa Kwasniewska; date, place not given]

[Text] Kwasniewska: The Labor Protection Council has commenced its activity in this new term of office. It has been given a completely new standing, has it not?

Siporski: Yes. This is connected with the expansion of the trade union movement. The participation of union activists in our advisory and consultative organ has been strongly accentuated. The fact that I, as former chairman of the Self-Governing Trade Union at the Nowotko Steelworks in Ostrowiec Swietokrzyski, have been entrusted with the job of heading the council, and that there was a recommendation from the union, clearly proves the standing accorded to this institution.

Kwasniewska: What are the main tasks and goals which you have set before you?

Siporski: The fundamental goal, of course, is to ensure that people work under safe and decent conditions. A large number of pressing issues have arisen in this sphere. We still note a high incidence of accidents at work. Last year alone there were some 236,000 cases, including 1,280 fatalities. Occupational diseases are on the increase (last year's figure was 8550); regulations concerning the hours of work are not observed; there are many irregularities in the area of accident investigation. The main cause of this state of affairs is the failure to observe the provisions which regulate matters of health and safety at work and incorrect work organization. The trade unions have ample opportunities to display their capabilities in this field. It has even been written into the act on the social labor inspectorate that trade union organizations should actively participate in all activity which is of primary consequence for the working people. This means monitoring the observance of the labor code; assessing working conditions and compliance with the law; pointing out the various irregularities in the arrangement of work stations; and so on. We also pin high hopes on recruiting large numbers of social labor inspectors. We estimate that after the selection to these posts is completed they will constitute an aktiv of some 200,000 members. They have access to all work stations, and thus they can form a most objective view-

point on all matters connected with labor safety. Their opinions will be exceptionally helpful when it comes to mapping out our program and implementing it.

The next issue to which we must make the union federations particularly sensitive is that of the organization of the social labor inspectors' daily routine. Many of them have good professional training and specialized practical experience. But it is not enough: the main thing is to equip them with the knowledge and information essential for the carrying out of their public, responsible function. This means training courses, instruction seminars, and so on....

Kwasniewska: The council has received a public vote of confidence. This places an obligation on it. What guarantee can you give that your activity will meet the expectations concerning the sphere of your functions?

Siporski: We realize how much there is still to be done. But we will not be acting in isolation. As I said, our supporting partner will be the social labor inspectorate. We intend to work in collaboration with the State Labor Inspectorate, local administration, academic circles, lawyers, and so on. You must also consider the times in which we have found ourselves called to action. Therefore every slightest achievement will be tantamount to a big success. And there is no point in hoping for some spectacular achievements. Our method will be that of taking "small steps": Realizing our main goal gradually but consistently. And if our efforts meet with the understanding and support of work forces themselves, those "small steps" may mark a significant breakthrough. For workers themselves ought to be interested in working under safe conditions.

CSO: 2600/1038



DECREE ON INVESTMENT COORDINATION COUNCIL, INSPECTORATE

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 41, 21 May 84 pp 1-8

[Decree No 264/1976 of the State Council on the Founding, Organization and Operation of the Council for Coordination of Investment Activity, the County Commissions for Coordination of Investment Activity and That of the Municipality of Bucharest, and the State Inspectorate General for Investment and Construction\*]

[Text] For carrying out the policy of the party and state in the investment field, in accordance with the objectives of economic and social development of the country set by the Program of the Romanian Communist Party for Forging the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society and Advancing Romania Toward Communism, with a view to the uniform coordination and guidance of the entire activity of investment and design, construction and assembly, equipping, commissioning of facilities, attainment of the approved technical and economic indicators, and growth in the efficiency of investments, and for the purpose of achieving investment facilities that provide the level of industrial output stipulated for each county while complying with the details for systematizing the industrial zones or platforms and the sketches for systematizing the localities, the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Chapter I

The Council, the County Commissions and the Commission of the Municipality of Bucharest for Coordination of Investment Activity

Section I

General Provisions

Article 1. For the uniform coordination and guidance of investment activity, from designing to commissioning the investment facilities and attaining the

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\* Republished on the basis of Article V of Decree No 146 of 21 April 1984, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL AL REPUBLICII SOCIALISTE ROMANIA, Part I, No 37, 23 April 1984, with a new numbering being given to the chapters, articles and appendices.

Decree No 264/1976 was published in BULETINUL OFICIAL, Part I, No 77, 2 August 1976.

approved technical and economic indicators, the Council for Coordination of Investment Activity, an organ of the Council of Ministers, is founded.

For the coordination and guidance, on a local level, of the activity of investment and design, construction and assembly, equipping, commissioning of facilities, and attainment of the approved technical and economic indicators, county coordination commissions and that of the municipality of Bucharest, subordinate to the executive committees of the county people's councils and that of the municipality of Bucharest and to the Council for Coordination of Investment Activity, are founded.

## Section II

### The Duties of the Council for Coordination of Investment Activity

Article 2. The Council for Coordination of Investment Activity is responsible for the way in which the provisions of the investment plan are fulfilled, for the entire design activity, for the securing of equipment from the country and from importation, for the organization of the construction-assembly activity and the quality of the work done, for the preparation for and performance of the activity of commissioning the investment facilities and the attainment of the projected technical and economic indicators, and for the fulfillment of other tasks that result from the investment plan.

Article 3. The Council for Coordination of Investment Activity has the following duties:

A. Together with the State Planning Committee, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Technical-Material Supply and Control of the Management of Fixed Assets and the investment titulars, it participates in preparing the draft of the investment plan, the draft of the production plan for construction-assembly, and the production plan for construction materials; it seeks to secure through these plans:

- a) The full use of the existing spaces and production capacities, the technical and economic substantiation of the new investment facilities mentioned in the studies or programs for developing the branches or subbranches, approved by the competent bodies, and the establishment of measures for obtaining higher economic efficiency;
- b) The creation of production capacities and of products also meant for exportation, under competitive conditions and with assurance of the efficiency indicators;
- c) The establishment of the investment funds according to facilities, in conformity with the timetable for scheduling the investments according to years, with the securing of the necessary means and with the strict following of the provisions in the 5-year plan and of the layout of the listed facilities according to years;
- d) The setting of tasks in the construction-assembly activity according to facilities, in conformity with the approved timetables, which would secure the

strict achievement of them on the planned dates, the listing of the general contractor, the sensible allocation of the tasks among builders, according to the volumes and structure of the work that they have to do, and the supplying of equipment to them, bearing in mind the necessity of intensifying the equipment use and raising the labor productivity.

B. It coordinates the design activity, ensuring that it is centered primarily on preparing the technical and economic studies and the working designs for constructions, technologies and equipment, so as to create the necessary gap between the preparation of the documentation and the stipulated date for beginning the facilities. To that end:

a) It approves or, as the case may be, presents for approval the design programs of the design units;

b) It establishes measures for fully utilizing the production capacities and for involving on a wider and wider scale in design the personnel in enterprises, centrals, ministries and other central bodies, the teaching personnel in higher and subengineer education, and the students and pupils in the specialized secondary schools;

c) It takes steps to achieve the typification, unification and standardization of the construction designs and of the construction materials--which it approves or, as the case may be, submits for approval--in strict accordance with the activity of typification, unification and standardization of technologies, installations and machines, for the purpose of using the existing designs to as great a degree as possible;

d) It takes steps that would secure the fulfillment of the design plan on schedule and in a proper manner.

C. It examines and assimilates the design subjects for the main investment facilities, before these subjects are approved through an order by the managements of the ministries and other central and local bodies, so that their content may conform to the party directives and the provisions of the plan and of the programs for developing the branches.

D. It examines and approves or, as the case may be, presents for approval the programs for preparing and advising on the technical and economic studies for the main investment facilities.

E. It sees that programs for turning over the documentation for executing the technological equipment and installations are concluded between the investment-titular ministries and the equipment-supplying ministries as early as the phase of finalizing the technical and economic studies; it sees that these programs give dates that provide for the manufacturing preparation and equipment delivery in correlation with the dates for commissioning the facilities; in performing this duty, it collaborates with the Council for Coordination of the Orientation, Specialization and Cooperation in the Machine-Building Industry and the Metallurgical Industry.

F. It examines systematically the stage of the preparation of the designs in the technical-and-economic-study and working-design phase and intervenes in the sense of securing the maximum efficiency at the designed facilities, to which end it pursues:

- a) The achievement of diversified, high-quality assortments, competitive in exportation, with sale ensured on the domestic and foreign markets;
- b) The priority use and better utilization of domestic raw materials;
- c) The adoption of advanced technical and technological solutions that reflect the gains of science and technology, utilizing with priority our own research and inventions, and permit a substantial rise in labor productivity;
- d) The obtaining of efficient outputs with minimal consumptions of metal, other raw materials, energy and fuel, especially by raising the indices in obtaining finished products per ton of raw material utilized;
- e) The achievement of as big a volume of equipment and materials as possible in the country in order to reduce imports;
- f) The observance of the locations given in the territorial-systematization studies, in the details for systematizing the industrial zones or platforms and in the sketches for systematizing the localities;
- g) The reduction of technological scrap, the reintroduction of it into the economic circuit and the efficient use of it;
- h) The matter of using to the highest degree the existing spaces, constructions and installations that can be inserted rationally into the technological flow;
- i) The limitation of the volumes built, in strict accordance with the technological and functional needs; the placement of the equipment outdoors in all possible cases;
- j) The occupation of minimal areas of land, of as low agricultural value as possible, through the combining of functions and objects and the joint use of utilities;
- k) The observance of the personnel norms in all stages of carrying out the investments up to commissioning;
- l) The observance of the legal norms on environmental protection;
- m) Other measures that provide higher economic efficiency.

G. It examines and approves the technical and economic indicators for the investment facilities from the viewpoint of the necessity, advisability and economic efficiency, the securing of raw materials, supplies and manpower, the sale of the production, and the fitting of the technical and economic indicators into the plan provisions; as the case may be, it assimilates the technical

and economic indicators of the investment and submits them for approval; together with the advisory and investment-titular bodies, it is responsible for the technical and economic indicators approved or submitted for approval.

H. Together with the ministries, the other central and local bodies and the centrals and enterprises, it organizes the systematic supervision of the fulfillment of the investment, construction-assembly and commissioning plan and establishes measures regarding:

a) The following of the timetables for scheduling the execution of the work for providing the physical stages stipulated in the plan and making up the possible delays;

b) The implementation of the equipment-assembly programs so that the creation of stocks of equipment beyond those set is prevented and the stipulated dates for beginning the technological tests are met;

c) The strict meeting by suppliers of the contractual dates for delivering the installations, equipment and machines and the materials, semiproducts and pre-fabricated parts;

d) The providing of the personnel for the construction-assembly activity, in strict accordance with the real needs, under the conditions of attaining the planned labor productivity;

e) The preparation for properly performing the technological tests and the achievement of the other conditions for providing the work force, raw materials and supplies and for putting the approved capacities into operation;

f) The proper performance of the acceptance of the investment facilities;

g) The careful administration of the material and financial means allocated for achieving the investment facilities;

h) The attainment of the approved technical and economic indicators at the main production capacities; for the facilities which have possibilities of being achieved ahead of schedule or which are lagging behind, it sets up staffs of specialists from ministries, centrals and enterprises, from research and design institutes and from education that will propose suitable technical and organizational solutions.

I. It pursues the preparation and fulfillment of the plan for maintenance and capital repairs on machines, equipment and installations, including those for power generation, on the dates set in the norms; it checks the quality of the capital repairs, with a view to the raising of the degree of operational reliability, the continual functioning and the modernization of the machines, equipment and installations.

J. It pursues the exemplary performance of the actions of international cooperation for achieving the facilities in all the phases--the preparation of the design subject, the preparation of, advice on and approval of the

documentation, the supplying of materials, semiproducts, prefabricated parts, installations, machines and equipment, the supplying of the work force as the case may be, the training of the personnel for operation, the commissioning and the attainment of the approved technical and economic indicators.

K. It approves the quarterly programs regarding the use of heavy construction equipment and orders the sending of it to the main investment facilities, in accordance with the needs.

L. It coordinates the activity of the county commissions and that of the municipality of Bucharest and, if need be, establishes steps that must be taken by them to fulfill the plan for investments, design, construction-assembly, commissioning, and attainment of the approved technical and economic indicators on a territorial basis.

M. It approves or advises, in accordance with the law, on the technical plan targets in the field of construction, construction materials and equipment use and the program for assimilation of construction-assembly equipment, for the central and local bodies that have subordinate to them organizations for construction-assembly or enterprises producing construction materials or construction equipment.

N. It punishes or, as the case may be, proposes the punishment of those guilty of not complying with the rules and norms, the legally set dates and the approved directives and measures in the process of preparing for and carrying out the investments.

O. It organizes the system of information regarding the fulfillment of the investment plan in all its phases.

P. It initiates draft regulatory acts for improving the activity in the investment field and the system of relations between the factors that participate in achieving the facilities.

R. It performs any other duties provided by law.

### Section III

#### The Organization and Operation of the Council for Coordination of Investment Activity

Article 4. The Council for Coordination of Investment Activity, a deliberative body, is formed of representatives of the ministries and other central bodies, the financing banks, the research and design institutes and the educational institutions.

The Council for Coordination of Investment Activity meets weekly and whenever necessary.

The current problems of the activity of the Council for Coordination of Investment Activity are solved by its executive bureau.

Article 5. The number of members and the nominal composition of the Council for Coordination of Investment Activity and its executive bureau are approved through a presidential decree, at the proposal of the prime minister of the government.

The chairman of the coordination council is the vice prime minister of the government who coordinates the activity of investment, construction-assembly, and commissioning of investment facilities. In the chairman's absence, his duties are performed by the chairman of the State Planning Committee.

Article 6. The Council for Coordination of Investment Activity has a technical and economic commission for providing advice and expertise; in addition, it has subordinate to it a technical council of the directors of the design institutes.

In order to fulfill the tasks that devolve upon it, the coordination council can use specialized personnel from ministries, centrals and enterprises, from the central synthesis bodies and from educational, research and design institutes.

Article 7. The Council for Coordination of Investment Activity in its entirety, the executive bureau and each particular member are responsible to the Council of Ministers for their entire activity; each member of the coordination council is responsible to it for the assigned tasks and to the collective leadership body of the body that he represents.

Article 8. In performing its duties, the Council for Coordination of Investment Activity adopts measures for securing the fulfillment of the plan targets, mandatory both for the bodies that are represented on the council and for the other investment-titular or -receiving bodies and for builders, designers and suppliers of equipment.

#### Section IV

The Duties, Organization and Operation of the County Commissions for Coordination of Investment Activity and That of the Municipality of Bucharest

Article 9. The county commissions for coordination of investment activity and that of the municipality of Bucharest perform the following duties in the territorial-administrative units in which they carry on their activity:

A. They coordinate the activity of investment, construction-assembly, commissioning of investment facilities, and attainment of the approved technical and economic indicators.

B. They participate in preparing the draft 5-year plans and the annual plans in territorial form, collaborating with the planning commissions, with a view to:

a) The thorough substantiation of the investments that are proposed to be put in the plan, taking into account the full use of the existing capacities, the providing of raw materials and supplies, particularly from the country, for the new investment facilities, and the sale of the production;

b) The placement of the investment facilities according to localities within the county, in the systematized zones and approved industrial platforms, pursuing the occupation of minimal areas of land through the combining of functions and objects and the reduction of investment expenses through the joint use of utilities.

C. They see that measures are adopted for providing the conditions for beginning to do the work on the dates stipulated in the plan by releasing the locations, contracting for the construction work and opening the financing and execution of the site-organization work.

D. They pursue and oversee the fulfillment of the investment, construction and commissioning plan by enterprises and sites, promptly solving the problems that arise in steadily fulfilling the investment plan with regard to supplying construction materials and construction equipment to the sites, supplying manpower, delivering the machines, equipment and installations and making the mechanical and technological tests.

E. They examine the size, structure and age of the stocks of technological equipment existing on the sites and establish measures so that they may be kept within the limits set.

F. They establish measures for attaining the technical and economic parameters within the approved periods, and in the cases in which there are lags, they set up staffs of specialists for proposing the measures to solve the problems that arise.

G. They perform any other duties mentioned in the legal provisions and secure the implementation of the investment decisions of the executive committees of the people's councils under whose subordination they operate and of the decisions of the Council for Coordination of Investment Activity. The problems that need to be solved at a central level will be sent to the ministries and other competent central bodies and, as the case may be, to the Council for Coordination of Investment Activity.

Article 10. The county commissions for coordination of investment activity and that of the municipality of Bucharest, bodies with a deliberative character, are composed of directors or deputy directors of the investment-receiving and construction-assembly enterprises and the design institutes in the territorial-administrative units in which they perform their activity and representatives of the county planning sections and that of the municipality of Bucharest, the financing banks, the financial inspectorates, the county inspectorates for control of the management of fixed assets, the county directorates for statistics and the county technical-material-supply bases.

The chairman of the county commission and that of the municipality of Bucharest is the first vice chairman or the vice chairman of the executive committee of the people's council who also holds the position of chairman of the territorial planning commission.

The number of members and the nominal composition of the county commissions and that of the municipality of Bucharest are approved through a decision by the



executive committees of the county people's councils or that of the municipality of Bucharest.

Article 11. The county commissions for coordination of investment activity and that of the municipality of Bucharest meet weekly and whenever necessary. The commissions adopt measures meant to secure the fulfillment of the plan for investment, design, construction-assembly, commissioning of investment facilities, and attainment of the approved technical and economic indicators.

Article 12. The preparation for the work needed for performing the activity of the county commissions and that of the municipality of Bucharest will be provided by the apparatus of the executive committees of the people's councils under whose subordination they operate and by the apparatus of the county branches and that of the municipality of Bucharest of the Investment Bank and the Bank for Agriculture and the Food Industry.

Article 13. The county commissions for coordination of investment activity and that of the municipality of Bucharest are responsible for their activity to the executive committees of the people's councils to which they are subordinate and to the Council for Coordination of Investment Activity. Each member is responsible to the commission and its chairman for fulfilling the assigned tasks.

## Chapter II

### The State Inspectorate General for Investment and Construction

#### Section I

##### General Provisions

Article 14. The State Inspectorate General for Investment and Construction, an organ of the Council of Ministers, is founded.

#### Section II

##### Duties

Article 15. The State Inspectorate General for Investment and Construction has mainly the following duties and responsibilities:

A. It checks the order notes and working designs for the investment facilities that are approved through a presidential decree or through a decision of the Council of Ministers.

B. It secures the application of the model designs in the investment documentation, in compliance with the legal provisions; it checks and advises on the construction-assembly part of the model designs.

C. It examines and checks the construction solutions for the investment facilities whose working designs are in the sphere of approval of the ministries, other central bodies and the county people's councils and that of the municipality of Bucharest.

D. It secures the application, in the design activity, of construction solutions that would lead to the growth of the efficiency of investments, the

promotion of technical progress, and reliability, durability and functionality of constructions.

E. It examines and advises, in accordance with the law, on the rules, norms, standards and other technical instructions in the construction field.

F. It is responsible for there being strict compliance with the legal provisions referring to the design and achievement of constructions, to which end:

a) It checks that as small areas of land as possible are occupied--avoiding the use of fertile agricultural land--through the combining of functions and objects and through the better joint use of utilities or general-purpose objects and that the configuration of the ground is used sensibly in designs in order to avoid costly transportation and big volumes of earthwork;

b) It ensures that through the solutions in designs investment facilities with minimal built areas and volumes are achieved, in strict accordance with the technological and functional needs, through the use of the built areas to the utmost, the placement of the objects so as to avoid the demolition of existing constructions, and the placement of the equipment and installations outdoors in all possible cases;

c) It sees that, in the designing, solutions are provided which permit the industrialization of the execution of constructions, the sensible scheduling of investments, so as to provide as short durations as possible in executing the investment facilities, and the economical dimensioning of the component elements of constructions, through the use of rational combinations and advanced systems of calculation that lead to low consumptions of fuel, energy and materials, especially energy-intensive materials.

G. In checking the technical and economic documentation, on the basis of the proposals of the designers, it analyzes and establishes the physical stages or the phases of execution decisive for the strength, durability and operational reliability of constructions.

H. On the sites, it checks the way in which the technical problems connected with achieving the investment facilities and commissioning the production capacities are solved and, together with the users, builders and designers, participates in solving these problems.

I. It performs the state inspection in construction, uniformly providing the state's control over the quality of the work that is done in the state, cooperative and private sectors, to which end:

a) It is responsible for the way in which the design units apply in the documentation, in accordance with the law, the technical instructions that give the constructions strength, durability, operational reliability and good behavior in time;

b) On the sites, it checks the quality in doing the work and the compliance with the provisions in the designs, in the specifications and in the technical instructions for execution;

- c) During the execution, at the main investment facilities, in the phases decisive for the strength, durability and operational reliability of constructions, it sees if all the technical conditions in designs, standards and norms are fulfilled and authorizes the continuation of the execution only if these conditions are fulfilled;
- d) It checks the quality of the elements and of the materials that are to be used in the construction work and forbids the utilization of unsuitable ones;
- e) It orders the stoppage of the poorly done work, until the achievement of all the conditions provided in the designs and norms; it gives orders to the inspected units for redoing or correcting the improperly done work and proposes the punishment of the guilty parties, in accordance with the law;
- f) In the period of operation, at the constructions for which the supervision of the behavior in time has been arranged, it checks and is responsible for the compliance by the users with the provisions in the designs prepared for this purpose;
- g) It makes checks regarding the compliance with the legal provisions referring to the acceptance of construction objects; it orders the supplementation or repetition of the acceptance, in the case when it finds that the measures adopted by the acceptance commission do not conform to the quality standards or when the proper functionality or behavior of the constructions is not provided;
- h) It issues specific norms regarding the methods and techniques of exercising the control of the quality of the work by the personnel of the executing units, so that the control may be efficient and prompt;
- i) It establishes the duties of the personnel in the specialized laboratories of the contractors, contractor-enterprises, trusts and centrals; it sees if the legal provisions referring to the quality of constructions are followed in the activity of these laboratories;
- j) It organizes, in collaboration with the ministries and other bodies involved, actions for qualifying and improving the professional training of the personnel who perform technical quality control and of the personnel in laboratories and takes steps to implement the program for professional improvement, with a view to knowing, generalizing and applying uniformly the methods and techniques of control of the quality of constructions;
- k) It oversees the application of the provisions of the law referring to the preparation, keeping and completion of the technical record of constructions and orders the steps that are necessary;
- l) It provides the specific technical documentation regarding the methodology and technique of control of the quality of constructions;
- m) It provides the specialized technical guidance for the county inspectorates and that of the municipality of Bucharest and oversees the way in which, in their activity, they comply with the specific provisions on inspection of the

quality in construction; with the agreement of the county councils for worker control of economic and social activity and that of the municipality of Bucharest, it approves the activity programs of these inspectorates.

J. It checks and submits for approval to the Council for Coordination of Investment Activity the design programs proposed by ministries and by other central and local bodies that have design units subordinate to them, for the purpose of preparing in advance the technical and economic documentation needed for achieving the investment facilities on schedule.

K. It examines and submits to the Council for Coordination of Investment Activity, for assimilation or approval, the documents for opening the financing and beginning to do the work on the new investment facilities.

L. It analyzes the documentation presented by ministries, other central bodies and the executive committees of the county people's councils and that of the municipality of Bucharest and issues the agreement for taking out of operation, in accordance with the law, the fixed assets of the nature of constructions.

M. It establishes the specialized technical steps that must be taken to apply in practice the party and state decisions referring to investment and construction activity; it presents proposals to the Councils of Ministers or, as the case may be, issues orders for the uniform application of these steps by all the bodies involved.

N. It prepares and proposes to the Council of Ministers for approval draft regulatory acts in the investment and construction field.

O. It advises on the draft regulatory acts in its field of activity, initiated by ministries or other central bodies.

P. It provides the working secretariat of the Council for Coordination of Investment Activity.

R. It performs any other duties provided by law.

Article 16. In performing the duties that devolve upon it, the State Inspectorate General for Investment and Construction has the right:

a) To take steps and to give orders mandatory for the inspected units in connection with correcting the deficiencies found and in connection with strictly applying the rules, norms and technical instructions and the measures initiated by the Council for Coordination of Investment Activity;

b) To apply, in accordance with the law, contraventional penalties for violations of the norms regarding its field of activity;

c) To request from the ministries, the other central bodies and the executive committees of the county people's councils and that of the municipality of Bucharest data and materials needed for performing its duties.

The inspection bodies of the State Inspectorate General for Investment and Construction and the laboratory and technical-quality-control personnel of the contractors, contractor-enterprises, trusts or centrals are responsible disciplinarily, contraventionally, materially, civilly or penally, as the case may be, for not fulfilling the tasks that devolve upon them within the official duties.

### Section III Organization and Operation

Article 17. The State Inspectorate General for Investment and Construction is managed by a management council, which decides on the general problems regarding its activity; the management of the operational activity is achieved through the executive bureau of the council.

The management council and the executive bureau, bodies with a deliberative character, are organized and operate in accordance with Decree No 76/1973 on the Management of the Ministries and Other Central Bodies of the State Administration on the Basis of the Principle of Collective Leadership.

Article 18. The State Inspectorate General for Investment and Construction has in its management one state inspector general and two deputy state inspectors general.

The state inspector general has the rank of minister state secretary and is appointed through a presidential decree. The deputy state inspectors general have the rank of deputy ministers and are appointed through a decision of the Council of Ministers, and their duties are established by the Management Council of the State Inspectorate General for Investment and Construction.

Article 19. The State Inspectorate General for Investment and Construction performs its activity on the basis of programs approved by the Council for Coordination of Investment Activity or, as the case may be, by the management council of the inspectorate.

Article 20. The State Inspectorate General for Investment and Construction has the following organizational structure:

- a) The Inspectorate for Coordination and Synthesis of the Activity of Investment and Design, Construction and Assembly, Equipping, Commissioning of Facilities, and Attainment of the Approved Technical and Economic Indicators;
- b) The Inspectorate for Investment Activity in the Metallurgical Industry, the Machine-Building Industry, the Construction-Materials Industry, Transportation and Construction;
- c) The Inspectorate for Investment Activity in the Mining Industry, the Petroleum and Gas Industry, the Electric- and Thermal-Power Industry, Hydrotechnical Construction, Water Management, Communal Administration and Land Improvement;

- d) The Inspectorate for Investment Activity in the Chemical and Petrochemical Industry, the Wood, Pulp and Paper Industry, the Food Industry, Light Industry, Tourism, Trade, Social and Cultural Activities and Agriculture;
- e) The State Inspectorate for Quality and Discipline in Construction;
- f) The Economic and Administrative Service.

The maximum number of personnel in the apparatus of the State Inspectorate General for Investment and Construction is given in Appendix No 1\* to the present decree. In the total number of personnel in the apparatus of the State Inspectorate General for Investment and Construction, the provisions of Article 172, Paragraph 6, of Law No 57/1974 are applied for the positions of principal engineer I and II and principal economist I and II, and the existing percentage will be maintained for the position of inspector general.

Article 21. The distribution of the personnel in its own apparatus among the specialized departments is done through an order of the state inspector general, and the duties of this apparatus are established through a regulation approved by the management council, in accordance with the legal norms.

Article 22. The holdings in the direct administration of the State Inspectorate General for Direction and Control in the Design and Execution of Constructions pass into the direct administration of the State Inspectorate General for Investment and Construction.

On the date of the present decree, the personnel employed at the State Inspectorate General for Direction and Control in the Design and Execution of Constructions who move to the State Inspectorate General for Investment and Construction are considered transferred in the interest of service.

### Chapter III

#### The County Inspectorates for Construction and That of the Municipality of Bucharest

Article 23. For the purpose of exercising the state's control in the field of the quality of constructions, in design and execution, the county inspectorates for construction and that of the municipality of Bucharest, units without a juridical personality, are founded within the State Inspectorate General for Investment and Construction.

Article 24. The county inspectorates for construction and that of the municipality of Bucharest are also subordinate to the county councils for worker control of economic and social activity and that of the municipality of Bucharest.

Article 25. The county inspectorates for construction and that of the municipality of Bucharest have the following duties and responsibilities:

- a) They see if the provisions of the law and of the technical instructions that give the constructions strength, durability, operational reliability, and good

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\* The appendix has been communicated to the institutions involved.

- behavior in time are followed in the working documentation for the investment facilities on the territory of the county;
- b) On the sites in the counties, they check the quality in doing the work and the compliance with the provisions in the designs, in the specifications and in the technical instructions;
  - c) During the execution, at the main investment facilities, in the phases decisive for the strength, durability and operational reliability of the constructions, they see if all the technical conditions in the designs, standards and norms are fulfilled and authorize the continuation of the execution only if these conditions are fulfilled;
  - d) They check the quality of the elements and of the materials that are to be used in the construction work and forbid the utilization of unsuitable ones;
  - e) They order the stoppage of the poorly done work, until the achievement of all the conditions provided in the designs and norms, and report on this to the State Inspectorate General for Investment and Construction; they give orders to the inspected units for redoing or correcting the improperly done work and propose the punishment of the guilty parties, in accordance with the law;
  - f) In the period of operation, at the constructions for which the supervision of the behavior in time has been arranged, they check and are responsible for the compliance by the users with the provisions in the designs prepared for this purpose;
  - g) They make checks regarding the compliance with the legal provisions referring to the acceptance of construction objects; they propose to the State Inspectorate General for Investment and Construction the cases in which the supplementation or repetition of the acceptance is necessary;
  - h) They see if the legal provisions referring to the quality of constructions are followed in the technical-quality-control and laboratory activity of the contractors, contractor-enterprises, construction trusts or centrals;
  - i) They oversee the application of the provisions of the law referring to the preparation, keeping and completion of the technical record of constructions and order the steps that are necessary;
  - j) They apply, in accordance with the law, contraventional penalties for violations of the norms regarding their field of activity;
  - k) They report to the State Inspectorate General for Investment and Construction the special cases that they find with regard to noncompliance with the legal provisions referring to the quality of constructions;
  - l) They inform the penal-prosecution bodies about violations of the quality standards in construction in the cases in which these violations, through their seriousness, constitute infractions.

The personnel with inspection duties are responsible disciplinarily, contraven-  
tionally, materially, civilly or penally, as the case may be, for not fulfill-  
ing the tasks that devolve upon them within the official duties.

Article 26. The county inspectorates for construction and that of the munici-  
pality of Bucharest are managed by a chief inspector.

Article 27. The maximum number of worker, management and operational personnel  
of the county inspectorates for construction and that of the municipality of  
Bucharest is given in Appendix No 2\* to the present decree.

Article 28. The personnel hired to work at the county inspectorates for con-  
struction and that of the municipality of Bucharest are paid in accordance with  
Appendix No IV, Chapter II, "Construction-Assembly," Letter B, Point a, to Law  
No 57/1974 on Remuneration According to the Quantity and Quality of Labor, re-  
published in BULETINUL OFICIAL AL REPUBLICII SOCIALISTE ROMANIA, Part I, Nos  
59-60, 23 July 1980, in conformity with Appendix No 3\* to the present decree.

Article 29. The economic, financial and service activity of the county inspec-  
torates for construction and that of the municipality of Bucharest is provided  
by the own apparatus of the executive committees of the county people's coun-  
cils and that of the municipality of Bucharest.

Article 30. The executive committees of the county people's councils and that  
of the municipality of Bucharest provide spaces, fixed assets and inventory ob-  
jects to the county inspectorates for construction and that of the municipality  
of Bucharest, in accordance with the law, through transfer from other units.

Article 31. The inspectorates for construction of the counties of Bihor, Bra-  
sov, Cluj, Constanta, Dolj, Hunedoara, Galati, Iasi, Neamt, Prahova, Suceava,  
Timis and Vilcea and of the municipality of Bucharest are equipped with mobile  
laboratories installed in special tracts, which make special checks connected  
with the quality of constructions throughout the country, and operate in accor-  
dance with the provisions of Decree No 468/1977, Appendix No 5, Chapter IV,  
Point 6.

Article 32. The county inspectorates for construction and that of the munici-  
pality of Bucharest are self-financed in accordance with the provisions of De-  
cree No 151/1975 on the Self-Financing of Activities of the State Institutions;  
the incomes for these inspectorates are constituted from a quota of 0.1 percent  
calculated with regard to the construction-assembly value achieved at the in-  
vestment facilities and are borne by the construction-assembly organizations  
from the indirect expenses included in the estimates for objects or for parts  
of a complex object.

Appendix No 1 to Decree No 151/1975 is supplemented in accordance with Appendix  
No 4\* to the present decree.

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\* The appendix has been communicated to the institutions involved.



#### Chapter IV Final Provisions

Article 33. The State Planning Committee and the Ministry of Finance will introduce into the sole national plan for economic and social development and into the structure and volume of the state budget for 1984 the changes given in appendices Nos 5\* and 6\* to the present decree.

Article 34. For the field-fortification work of the Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of the Interior, the control of the quality of the design and execution is performed by their specialized bodies, in compliance with the norms on the duties and responsibilities in the state inspection in construction established in the present decree.

Article 35. Decree No 44/1973 on the Founding, Organization and Operation of the State Inspectorate General for Direction and Control in the Design and Execution of Constructions, with the subsequent amendments, Decision No 150/1973 of the Council of Ministers on Some Measures for Organizing and Operating the State Inspectorate General for Direction and Control in the Design and Execution of Constructions, and any other provisions contrary to the present decree are repealed on the date that the present decree goes into effect.

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\* The appendices have been communicated to the institutions involved.

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DECREE ON HARD CURRENCY EARNINGS AMENDED

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 40, 16 May 84 pp 3-8

[Text] Decree of the Council of State Amending and Supplementing Decree No 233/1974 on Certain Rights and Obligations of Romanian Citizens Earning Income in Foreign Currency

The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania hereby decrees the following:

Article 1. Decree No 233/1974 on certain rights and obligations of Romanian citizens who earn income in foreign currency is hereby amended and supplemented to read as follows:

Decree on Certain Rights and Obligations of Romanian Citizens Who Earn Income in Foreign Currency

CHAPTER I

Rights and Obligations of Romanian Citizens Employed Abroad

SECTION I

General Provisions

Article 1. The ministries, other central organs, the Romconsult Romanian Consulting Institute, foreign trade enterprises, and other authorized units representing the origin of Romanian citizens employed in international organizations, in joint production, marketing, and banking companies or companies of another nature, and by institutions, organizations, or other partners abroad, for the conduct of technical, scientific, teaching, medical, legal, economic, cultural, artistic, athletic, and other activities, on the basis of agreements concluded between the government of Romania and other governments or on the basis of understandings and contracts between organizations of the Socialist Republic of Romania and organizations or other partners abroad, will take measures to make certain that activities connected with dispatching of specialists abroad will be conducted under conditions of high economic efficiency.

For this purpose effort will be exerted to secure the following through the agreements concluded with foreign partners:

- a) suitable rates or wages, allowances for family members, and other benefits at the level of international practice in the sphere of employment of foreign specialists;
- b) customary increases for special climatic and working conditions and for overtime work, as applicable;
- c) housing furnished in keeping with the position, responsibility, and duties; as well as free daily transportation to and from the place of work;
- d) free transportation for specialists, their family members, and personal luggage, both in travel to the work station and on return from the work station, as well as in travel for vacation in the country;
- e) paid vacations, social security benefits, and free medical treatment for specialists and the members of their families;
- f) allowances or bonuses on the occasion of reporting to the work station and on definitive return to the country;
- g) full payment, in convertible currency or at the maximum level provided by the legislation of the countries in question, of the rates agreed upon, as well as transfer to the Socialist Republic of Romania, in convertible currency, of the amounts in currency due the dispatching units and the amounts of savings realized by specialists;
- h) the possibility of periodic revision of the level of rates, remuneration, and other monetary benefits, as a function of variation in currency exchange rates, changes occurring at the level of local wages and prices, and other similar circumstances;
- i) payment by the foreign partners of all expenses occasioned by death abroad, return of the deceased to the country, and payment of compensation in the event of accidents, for specialists and the members of their families.

## SECTION II

### Rights and Obligations of Romanian Citizens Sent Abroad to Work as Employees of International Organizations

Article 2. The ministries and other central organs will pay no expenses of any kind in lei or in foreign currency for Romanian citizens employed abroad under the conditions specified in Article 1, such citizens having the obligation of providing for the maintenance of their families and meeting other obligations in the country out of the income which they earn.

The socialist units representing the origin of specialists employed abroad have the obligation of providing jobs commensurate with their training for such specialists within a period of 30 days from the date of their return to the country.

The period worked abroad will be taken into account in establishing uninterrupted length of service in the same unit, as well as length of service in a job and specialty.

The benefits specified in the second and third paragraphs will also be enjoyed by a person accompanying a spouse employed abroad, if the spouse is employed within a period of 90 days following definitive return to the country.

Article 3. Romanian citizens employed by international organizations having their main offices abroad have the obligation of transferring to the country each month, out of the net income earned in foreign currency for work performed, an amount calculated in United States dollars as a contribution to the fund for elementary and advanced training of personnel required for international cooperation activities, in accordance with section A of Annex No 1 (copies of which will be forwarded to the institutions concerned). Of the amount in foreign currency remaining after deduction of this contribution, part will be transferred to the country, in exchange for payment in lei, to cover expenses connected with family maintenance and other obligations, in accordance with section B of Annex 1.

The net income on the basis of which are calculated the amounts representing the transfer obligation will be determined by deducting taxes, fees, amounts withheld for the pension fund, social and medical security, expenses for rental and maintenance of housing abroad, and the household settlement allowance from the gross income earned in foreign currency for work performed. There will also be deducted from the gross income earned the allowances for spouse and children, in the amount agreed upon in accordance with the standards of the country or international organization or stipulated by contract, but no more than 70 dollars per month for a spouse and 50 dollars per month for each dependent child.

Whenever Romanian citizens employed abroad under the conditions specified in article 1 receive household settlement allowances, the amounts in foreign currency subject to the transfer obligations specified in the first paragraph will be due one month following the date of commencement of activity.

Employees who do not receive household settlement allowances will be exempt from the transfer obligation for a period of two months from the date of commencement of activity.

Article 4. Whenever expense needs in the country exceed the equivalent in lei of the amounts in foreign currency provided for this purpose, employees will have the obligation of transferring the additional foreign currency necessary for which they will receive the equivalent value in lei.

Article 5. Romanian citizens employed abroad will have the obligation of declaring to diplomatic missions or consular offices of the Socialist Republic of Romania, within a period of 30 days from the date of collection, income earned in foreign currency for work performed, including bonuses, increases, allowances, and any other income in foreign currency, as well as the amounts withheld, contributions, and expenses specified in Article 3, and will append to the declaration supporting documents relating to such income, amounts withheld, contributions, and expenses.

The supporting documents will be submitted together with the first declaration and whenever changes occur in the level of income, amounts withheld, contributions, or expenses taken into account in determining the net income.

In cases in which supporting documents cannot be obtained, expenses for which disbursement has been made will be considered to be justified on the basis of a written declaration made by the respective persons on their own responsibility.

The amounts to be transferred will be deposited at the diplomatic missions or consular offices within a period of 30 days from the date of collection of income in foreign currency.

The periods specified in the preceding paragraphs may be extended by as much as 30 days in the case of employees who earn a part of their income in the territory of a country other than that in which they work.

Article 6. Calculation of the amounts subject to the transfer obligation and monitoring of the collection of these amounts will be effected by the diplomatic missions or consular offices of the Socialist Republic of Romania in the respective countries. The ministries to which the personnel sent abroad are subordinate and the Ministry of Finance will be notified quarterly of the amounts collected.

The amounts subject to the transfer obligation of Romanian citizens employed in international organizations and receiving pay partly in convertible currency and partly in other currencies will be established by conversion of the net income to United States dollars at the appropriate official rate of exchange. Transfer will be made chiefly in convertible currencies.

Article 7. Romanian employees have the obligation of transferring to the country, to the credit of the state social security budget, the amounts in foreign currency representing contributions to the pension fund reimbursed by the organizations in which they have worked, for calculation pursuant to law of the length of service for pension purposes.

Whenever, in accordance with local legislation or the bylaws of organizations, such amounts are not withheld or are not reimbursed, Romanian employees have the obligation of transferring the state social security contribution to the country each month in foreign currency. The equivalent of this contribution, in the amount of 10 percent of the net income, will be deducted from the

amount in foreign currency subject to the transfer obligation as provided in section A of Annex No 1.

Article 8. The provisions of Article 2, paragraph 1, and of Article 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 will not apply to Romanian citizens working in socialist countries.

### SECTION III

#### Rights and Obligations of Romanian Citizens Sent Abroad to Work as Employees of Joint Companies

Article 9. Romanian citizens employed by joint companies having their main office abroad have the obligation of transferring monthly to the country, out of the net income earned in foreign currency for work performed, an amount calculated in United States dollars as a contribution to the fund for elementary and advanced training of personnel necessary for international cooperation activities, in accordance with section A of Annex No 2, copies of which have been forwarded to the institutions concerned.

Of the amount in foreign currency remaining after deduction of this contribution, part will be transferred to the country, in exchange for payment in lei, to provide for meeting family maintenance expenses and other obligations, in accordance with section B of Annex No 2.

Article 10. The provisions of Article 2, Article 3, paragraphs 2, 3, and 4, and Articles 4, 5, 6, and 7 will be applied also to Romanian citizens employed by joint companies having their main offices abroad.

Article 11. The provisions of Article 2, paragraph 1, and of Articles 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 will not be applied to Romanian citizens employed by mixed companies having their main offices in socialist countries.

### SECTION IV

#### Rights and Obligations of Romanian Specialists Sent Abroad to Provide Specialized Assistance Not in Connection with Deliveries

Article 12. The ministries and other central organs, the Romconsult Romanian Consulting Institution, foreign trade enterprises, or other authorized units, hereinafter referred to as dispatching units, will organize, under the conditions specified by this decree, operations connected with dispatching of specialists abroad to provide specialized assistance not in connection with deliveries of projects, machinery, installations, equipment, and construction and assembly operations, in technical, scientific, teaching, medical, legal, economic, cultural, artistic, athletic, and other similar fields, hereinafter referred to as specialized assistance.

The operations connected with dispatching of specialists abroad will be approved by the competent organs, pursuant to law.

Article 13. Specialists will be dispatched abroad to provide specialized assistance on the basis of collective contracts or other agreements concluded with foreign partners by the Romconsult Romanian Consulting Institute or other authorized units.

Recruitment and selection of specialists to be dispatched abroad to provide specialized assistance will be effected by ministries and other central organs.

The dispatching units will endeavor also to involve retired specialists in such activities.

Records on the dispatching of specialists abroad to provide specialized assistance, as well as on the conditions and facilities afforded these specialists, will be maintained by the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation.

Article 14. For the period of their work abroad specialists will be considered to be on detached service from the dispatching unit.

Dispatching units will notify units in the country representing the origin of the specialists, at least 30 days in advance, of the date of termination of the mission of the specialists abroad.

The dispatching units, diplomatic missions, and economic agencies will endeavor to have the spouses accompanying specialists abroad obtain gainful employment.

Article 15. The income in foreign currency of Romanian specialists dispatched abroad to provide specialized assistance will be calculated, by individual categories of professions and specialties, on the basis of the rates agreed upon by the dispatching units and the foreign partners. The minimum level of these rates is specified in Annex No 3, copies of which have been forwarded to the institutions concerned.

Article 16. The provisions of Article 3, paragraph 2, Article 4, and Article 6, paragraph 2, will also be applied to Romanian specialists dispatched abroad to provide specialized assistance.

Calculation of the amounts subject to the transfer obligation as a contribution to the fund for elementary and advanced training of the personnel required for international cooperation activities, and also of amounts needed to meet family maintenance expenses and other obligations in the country, will be effected in accordance with the provisions of sections A and B of Annex No 2.

Article 17. Romanian specialists dispatched abroad to provide specialized assistance will receive the following benefits:

A. In Romanian:

a) the equivalent value in lei of amounts in foreign currency transferred to the country for the purpose of meeting family maintenance expenses and other obligations;

b) the state child support allowance, pursuant to law.

B. Abroad:

- the amount in foreign currency calculated on the basis of the net monthly income in foreign currency, in accordance with Annex No 2.

Article 18. Following termination of their activities abroad and return to their jobs in Romania, Romanian specialists dispatched abroad to provide specialized assistance will receive the benefit of wages in lei, including the general wage scale increases of the branch from which they originate, as well as promotion, as provided by law, to a higher bracket of uninterrupted service in the same unit.

Article 19. During the vacation period, Romanian specialists will receive benefits in lei, calculated pursuant to law, on the basis of the average wages earned over the last 12 months preceding departure abroad.

Over a period of temporary inability to work because of sickness or accident, as well as in the event of quarantine, specialists will receive the following benefits:

a) the amounts in foreign currency and in lei under the conditions established by this decree, if they are abroad during the period in question;

b) compensation in lei, calculated in accordance with the legal standards applicable to persons employed in the Socialist Republic of Romania, if the specialists are in Romania during the period of temporary inability to work.

During a period of travel in the interests of the service inside the country in which they are employed or in another foreign country, in addition to the benefits in foreign currency and in lei provided by this decree, specialists will also receive the amounts in foreign currency received from the foreign partner to meet subsistence costs, housing costs, or other obligations.

Article 20. In addition to the benefits specified in the foregoing, specialists and the members of their families will receive the amounts in foreign currency provided by foreign partners for housing rental, furnishing, and maintenance, medical treatment, hospitalization, and international transportation.

If, in accordance with contracts or agreements concluded with foreign partners, they costs specified in the first paragraph are assigned to the Romanian party, such costs will be defrayed by the dispatching units, as follows:

a) housing rental, furnishing, and maintenance, medical treatment and hospitalization abroad, and the cost of international transportation for specialists, the members of their families, and their personal luggage, under the conditions established by law for worker personnel dispatched to agencies of the Socialist Republic of Romania abroad, by assignment to the category of such personnel;



b) in the case of specialists working in countries with which the Socialist Republic of Romania has concluded agreements in the sphere of social and medical security, the expenses will be defrayed under the conditions established by these agreements.

Article 21. The benefits in foreign currency due specialists will be provided on the basis of the currency in which the dispatching units collect charges from foreign partners.

If the charges due the dispatching units are collected partly in convertible currency and partly in local nonconvertible currency, the benefits due the specialists will be paid in accordance with Annex No 2, section C, paragraph 2.

Article 22. Out of the amounts collected in foreign exchange, the dispatching units will pay the taxes, charges, social security, and other amounts withheld or payments provided by the local legislation, and will pay the specialists benefits in foreign currency, in the amounts and under the conditions established by this decree.

Article 23. Amounts in foreign currency exceeding the level of the benefits due the specialists, as well as amounts received from foreign partners in the form of bonuses, repatriation allowances, reimbursement of contributions to the social security fund, pensions, and other similar reimbursements, during or on expiration of the period of work abroad, will be deposited within a period of 30 days from the date of their collection at the diplomatic missions, consular offices, or economic agencies of the Socialist Republic of Romania in the countries in which the specialists work or will be transferred to Romania, within the same period, and will be deposited in the account of the dispatching units.

In justified cases the period specified in the first paragraph may be extended up to 60 days by the head of the diplomatic mission, consular office, or economic agency, as applicable.

If, in accordance with the legislation of the country in which the specialists work, the amounts specified in the first paragraph are disbursed following departure of the specialists from their jobs, the specialists will declare the respective amounts to the dispatching units, within a period of 30 days from their arrival in Romania, and will concern themselves with performance of the formalities necessary for transfer of the respective amounts to the account of the dispatching unit.

Article 24. Amounts in foreign currency collected from foreign partners for work performed by specialists who provide specialized assistance will be specified in the foreign currency plan of the dispatching unit.

Out of the amounts in foreign currency collected from foreign partners the dispatching units will pay the allowances and other benefits in foreign currency due the specialists, in the amount and under the conditions established by this decree.

The amounts in foreign currency remaining after payment of the specialists' benefits will be promptly utilized by the dispatching units and the hierarchically higher ministries, with the assistance of the Romanian Foreign Trade Bank, the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation, the Ministry of Finance, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The Romanian Foreign Trade Bank will discount in lei for the dispatching units the equivalent value of the amounts in foreign currency transferred to Romania which have been utilized or have resulted from utilization abroad, at the rate of exchange actually applied.

Article 25. The dispatching units will pay the following within the periods established, in accordance with regulations in force:

- a) the amounts in foreign currency and in lei due specialists, under the conditions provided by this Decree;
- b) the state social security contribution, in the amount of 15 percent calculated in lei pursuant to law on the basis of the benefits earned by specialists during the last month preceding departure abroad; the equivalent value of this contribution in foreign currency, at the exchange rate for noncommercial transactions, will be deducted from the gross income;
- c) the 2 percent or 4 percent contribution for the additional pension, calculated under the conditions provided by law on the basis of the benefits earned by specialists during the last month preceding departure abroad, which contribution will be deducted from the amounts due these specialists, in lei, in Romania;
- d) the tax on the total wage fund, as applicable;
- e) the costs involved in selection and training of specialists;
- f) the mark up for foreign trade enterprises.

The amounts in lei remaining after the payments specified in the first paragraph have been made will be utilized as follows:

- in the case of economic dispatching units, they will represent profit and will be used for the purposes provided by law;
- in the case of other dispatching units they will be remitted as a contribution to the fund for elementary and advanced training of personnel necessary for international cooperation activities.

Article 26. The benefits specified in Articles 17 to 19 will also be provided for Romanian personnel dispatched as employees to foreign partners for specialization or production training, the dispatching units correspondingly applying the provisions of Articles 20 to 25, except as otherwise agreed in contracts concluded with foreign partners.

rendered. The commission will be calculated on the basis of the net income determined in accordance with Article 31, less the amount transferred or deposited as contribution in the fund for elementary and advanced training of the personnel required for international cooperation activities. The level of the commissions will be established, by income categories, within the limits indicated above, by the ministries or other central organs which coordinate the activities of the respective associations, organizations, or institutions, and also by the Council of Socialist Culture and Education for creative unions, with the concurrence of the Ministry of Finance.

Article 33. The socialist organizations specified in Article 32 may provide, out of the funds created from commissions collected, amounts in foreign currency as loans for full or partial payment of the costs occasioned by travel abroad by the persons from whom such commission are collected. Loans will be provided within the limits and under the conditions established by the socialists organizations having jurisdiction, with the concurrence of the Ministry of Finance, and will be withheld from any benefits in foreign currency of the persons who owe them.

### CHAPTER III

#### Rights and Obligations of Romanian Citizens Who Acquire Amounts in Foreign Currency as Inheritances, Pensions, Donations, and Other Patrimonial Benefits

Article 34. Recipients of amounts in foreign currency deriving from inheritances and other patrimonial benefits abroad may use up to 15 percent of the amounts received for the purpose of making payments in foreign currency, and recipients of amounts in the form of pensions, donations, or grants may utilize up to 30 percent of the amounts received in foreign currency for the same purpose.

They will receive the equivalent value in lei, at the exchange rates in effect, for the balances in foreign currency.

Article 35. The amounts in foreign currency corresponding to the percentages specified in Article 34 may be utilized in Romania for purchase or construction of housing, purchase of automobiles and other goods, for services the prices or rates of which are established in foreign currency, and for payment of customs duties. The amounts in foreign currency may be used abroad under the conditions and in compliance with the provisions of law.

Whenever the amounts in foreign currency are used for purchase or construction of housing in Romania or for purchase of automobiles of Romanian manufacture, the percentages that may be used in foreign currency may be increased by the Ministry of Finance to the level of the price in foreign currency of the respective goods.

Article 36. Amounts in foreign currency received as donations or grants may be used in their entirety in Romania by the recipients, if the sender has stated expressly that the amounts are to be used for purchase or construction of housing, purchase of automobiles and other goods, for services the prices or

Article 27. The benefits provided for the specialists in accordance with Articles 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, and 25 of this decree may not exceed the amounts in foreign currency collected from the foreign partner.

Article 28. The provisions of Articles 17 to 25 will not be applied to Romanian specialists dispatched to the socialist countries specified in Annex No 4, copies of which have been forwarded to the institutions concerned, to provide specialized assistance not connected with deliveries.

## CHAPTER II

### Rights and Obligations of Romanian Citizens Earning Incidental Income in Foreign Currency

Article 29. Romanian citizens who earn income in foreign exchange in the form of fees, royalties, bonuses, or other similar benefits, from their journalistic, scientific, cultural, artistic, technical, economic, athletic, medical, and legal activities or activities of another nature, have the obligation of declaring such income within a period of 10 days from the date of return from abroad or from the date of collection of the income in Romania, to the unions, associations, organizations, or institutions through which contracts have been signed with foreign partners.

Income earned in foreign currency by persons who do not belong to a union, association, organization, or institution and which is not based on a contract will be declared, within the same period, to the Romanian Foreign Trade Bank or to the National Bank of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Article 30. The Romanian citizens specified in Article 29 have the obligation of transferring or depositing, within the period specified in that article, part of the income earned in accordance with Annex No 5, copies of which have been forwarded to the institutions concerned.

Article 31. Income on the basis of which is calculated the portion to be transferred or deposited pursuant to Article 30 represents the amount remaining after deduction, on the basis of documents, of expenses paid abroad by the persons earning income: taxes and fees, rental of exhibition halls, cost of transportation in international traffic, impresario commissions in accordance with signed contracts, and other specific costs absolutely necessary for conduct of activities, excluding housing, subsistence, and ordinary petty costs.

The portion to be transferred or deposited will be calculated for each transaction or contract. If the amount provided for each transaction or contract is due for a period longer than 30 days, calculation will be made on the basis of the average monthly income earned.

Article 32. Romanian citizens who earn income in foreign currency under the conditions specified in Article 29 have the obligation of paying to the unions, associations, or other organizations or institutes through which they have signed contracts a commission in foreign currency of 5 to 15 percent for services

rates of which are established in foreign currency, and for payment of customs duties.

Whenever amounts in foreign currency received as donations or grants are intended to be used as payments for medical treatment abroad, purchase of drugs, performance of studies, specialization of documentation, acquisition of documentary materials relating to a specialty, dues in international organizations, and for travel, these amounts may be used in their entirety for such payments, provided that the provisions of law enforced are complied with.

Amounts of up to 100 dollars received from abroad without specification of its purpose will be assigned to the category indicated by the recipients, on the basis of a declaration, without the requirement of substantiation with certificates of origin.

#### CHAPTER IV

Conditions Applicable to Savings in Foreign Currency Realized in Various Forms of Remuneration, Allowances, Per Diem Compensation, or Scholarships

Article 37. Romanian citizens performing government or public service assignments abroad, as well as those dispatched as scholarship students, who realize savings in foreign currency out of salaries, fees, allowances, or other forms of remuneration, bonuses, per diem compensation, or scholarship, as well as Romanian citizens employed by international organizations, by joint production, marketing, banking, and other similar companies, and by institutions or other partners abroad, who realize savings out of amounts in foreign currency remaining available under the conditions specified by this decree, may dispose of such savings in their entirety for payments in foreign currency.

The amounts in foreign currency conserved and brought into Romania may be used for construction or purchase of housing, purchase of goods, including automobiles and other consumer durables, or for payment for services the prices or rates of which are established in foreign currency. The respective savings may also be used abroad, in accordance with the provisions of law.

The amounts saved in foreign exchange may be converted to lei, at the rates of exchange in effect.

#### CHAPTER V

Rights and Obligations of Romanian Citizens Employed by International Organizations with Main Offices in the Socialist Republic of Romania

Article 38. Romanian citizens who are employed by international organizations having their main offices in the Socialist Republic of Romania and whose wages are paid in foreign currency will receive benefits in lei at the level of similar positions in the ministry or institution engaging in activities of a similar type. The difference between the benefits received from the international organization, converted to lei at the rates of exchange in effect, and

the wages of the analogous position in Romania, increased up to 25 percent, will be remitted as a contribution to the fund for elementary and advanced training of the personnel necessary for international cooperation activities.

Determination of the analogous positions will be made by the Ministry of Labor, on recommendation by the respective ministry of institution whose structure includes the field in which the employee in question is active.

Similarly, the employees may, with the concurrence of the Ministry of Finance, receive up to 15 percent in convertible currencies calculated on the basis of the benefits received from the respective international organizations, provided that these benefits are paid partly in convertible currencies. The respective amounts in foreign currency may be used as provided by law.

## CHAPTER VI

### Common and Final Provisions

Article 39. Amounts in foreign currency acquired by the recipients specified in this decree will be kept in the Socialist Republic of Romania only in personal accounts opened at the Romanian Foreign Trade Bank or the National Bank of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

The procedure for opening personal accounts and making payments from these accounts, the categories of foreign exchange in which payments may be made, and the method of determining equivalency in convertible currency of the other currencies specified in the list of exchange rates of the National Bank of the Socialist Republic of Romania, when the respective currency is utilized for payments in Romania, will be established by instructions of the National Bank of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Romanian Foreign Trade Bank, with the concurrence of the Ministry of Finance.

The amounts in foreign exchange may be used either on behalf of the account holder or on behalf of the members of their families: spouses, children, and parents of spouses.

The right of the holder of an account to utilize and dispose of amounts in foreign currency will in the event of death pass to his heirs.

Article 40. Failure to declare, deposit, or transfer within the periods established the amounts specified in Articles 3, 5, 7, 9, 23, 29, 30, 32, and 38 will be punished by a penalty of 0.05 percent for each day of delay.

A certificate of determination and application of the penalty specified in the foregoing paragraph constitutes an order with the force of law. The Ministry of Finance may, in justified cases, approve reductions or exemptions from the penalty.

Article 41. Units and organizations representing the origin of the Romanian citizens specified in article 1 will conclude with these citizens written commitments setting forth the rights and obligations assigned in keeping with this decree. These commitments constitute orders with the force of law.

Article 42. The National Bank of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Romanian Foreign Trade Bank will credit interest in lei on cash in personal accounts in foreign currency opened in the name of Romanian citizens owning foreign currency under the conditions specified in this Decree.

The interest level equals that established for depositors in Savings and Loan Bank accounts and will be applied to the equivalent value in lei of the cash in foreign currency, calculated on the basis of the rate of exchange in effect.

Article 43. Persons who establish domicile in the Socialist Republic of Romania, whether retaining foreign citizenship or not, may open personal accounts in foreign currency at the bank at which they keep the cash in foreign currency which they own, use this cash in its entirety for payments in foreign currency in Romania and abroad, or convert it to lei at the rate of exchange in effect.

Article 44. The Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the National Bank of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and the Romanian Foreign Trade Bank are authorized to draw up technical standards applicable to collection of amounts in foreign currency, payment of benefits due specialists, management, record-keeping, and utilization of foreign currency resulting from application of this decree.

Article 45. Annexes Nos 1 to 5 form an integral part of this decree.

Article 46. This decree will enter into effect on 1 February 1975 [sic].

There will be rescinded on the same date decree No 785/1969, Resolution of Council of Ministers No 2162/1969, Article 2 of Resolution of Council of Ministers No 1250/1971, Resolution of Council of Ministers No 67/1970, and the provisions of Resolution of Council of Ministers No 574/1964 relating to the personnel to which the provisions of this decree apply.

Article II. The provisions of this decree will enter into effect on 1 June, 1984.

Nicolae Ceausescu

President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 14 May 1984

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## CROATIAN BIOGRAPHIC LEXICON COMES UNDER ATTACK

[Editorial Report] The recent publication in Zagreb of the Croatian Biographic Lexicon has provided an opportunity for Belgrade to strike back (though in a minor way) at the Croatian party's voluminous "anthology" of controversial (not to say, unacceptable) writings, films, plays, etc., mostly published in Belgrade (and variously referred to at a Croatian LC meeting as "flowers of evil" and "a basket of poison mushrooms").

BORBA, in a 26-27 May (page 13) report on the "anthology," said "it seems to be a complete list of all such 'cases' except for the latest 'case,' namely, the Croatian Biographic Lexicon."

In reporting on the Zagreb party meeting which discussed the lexicon, BORBA of 6 June 1984 (page 3) notes: "It is difficult to say now whether this first [first, because it includes Croatians from all parts of the world] Croatian Biographic Lexicon will produce a storm in our cultural circles as has been the case with certain books which have appeared in the last few years with controversial political and ideological messages, but it is certain that much more will be said about this publication and that many will not react indifferently to it."

The most serious criticism pertains to the foreword "where, in addition to persons of merit in the cultural and material development of Croatia and outstanding individuals and important revolutionaries, there are also to be found individuals like one Artukovic and others who have played a shameful role in history and left a big stain on it. No one objects to the need to mention people who have played such a shameful role but the editors were dutybound to give a thorough explanation of them."

Another major criticism was directed toward the evaluation and categorization of "outstanding persons of Serbian nationality born in Croatia or persons who were linked in other ways to the development of Croatian culture." Drago Rosandic is quoted as saying, "This is an inadmissible omission because the lexicon underestimates the role of Serbs in Croatia and their culture." In pointing to the inadequate treatment of these Serbs, he said that "everyone who cares about community, not only Croat-Serbian community but that of all peoples and nationalities in Yugoslavia, cannot be indifferent to such an approach."



## CROATIAN LC IDEOLOGICAL MEETING REFLECTS DIVISIONS

[Editorial Report] The Zagreb weekly DANAS on 29 May 1984 pages 19-22 reports on the 23 May meeting of the Croatian LC Central Committee for ideological questions and information which discussed the 237-page book put out by the Croatian party listing all the literary works, dramas, articles, films, etc. which have come under attack in the past few years, most of which have emanated from Belgrade. The meeting, which was chaired by Stipe Suvar and lasted 12 hours, was reportedly attended by only 38 of the approximately 150 writers, drama and film workers, critics, and journalists who were invited and was marked by disagreements and personal attacks and recriminations among the participants.

Suvar, who was largely responsible for compiling the book "as an analysis of the hostile and negative tendencies which are becoming ever louder and more public," said: "It is a question here of a broad spiritual counterrevolution which is antipartisan, rightist, and the offshoot of the extended hand of an ideological war in the world against everything that is socialist and communist.... It is a question of a nihilism directed against everything that the new Yugoslav society is doing and is trying to do. Today this intrigue has assumed wider dimensions than ever before and is supported by well-known problems which have been piling up in our society, as well as by lack of organization, laxness, and inertia of our entire ideological front. Swarms of 'free' thinkers are cruising around the country, labeling, ...denouncing, and muddying not only individuals who are not to their liking but also the LC, the leadership, politicians, and the system; while at the same time they charge that they are being persecuted and have no freedom to think, speak and act. What horror arose among these people over the (in my opinion, somewhat literally forced) words used by Goran Babic and how much hatred and scorn was voiced against him...."

But journalist Zarko Bozic voiced dissenting views: "I think that the party's communication and relation with the intelligentsia is superficial and inadequate and that...it lacks a firm line and view based on the conduct of responsible workers; and from their [i.e., responsible party workers] statements, the message emerges [in this book] of a quite important or perhaps even too important [i.e., exaggerated] antifront within the ranks of the intelligentsia.... Behind the horror over certain books, dramas, aphorisms, etc... it is a message about an impotence that stands in opposition to this [antifront]. Neither is true, but it contributes to a climate of confusion and fluidity. I agree with the assessment about rightwing and petit-bourgeois intellectuals being a

minority and this is basically being discussed here; but what is the relation of the party toward the majority. Why are they silent, and what is the relation of the party toward the radical left and dogmatic or simply egocentric intellectuals from our ranks who are also creating a certain climate?

"These groupings, ultraleftists, dogmatists..., often, on reflex, launch into a battle of nerves, accusations and polemics, perhaps in the honest belief that they are thereby following the party line but the messages which they give have the opposite effect. In regard to the polemic of Goran Babic, enough has already been said, but if someone who considers himself to be a communist, knows many people in this society who are suffering because of their communist beliefs [as Babic says]..., then he is blackening his party and his society [when he says this]. If this is his honest belief, then it is more correct to leave the party...."

Similarly, Bozic said, Ivo Druzijanic (correspondent for Belgrade TV who resigned from both the Croatian and Yugoslav journalist societies because persons whom he considered anticommunist became members and persons whom he considered nationalists received awards) should resign from the party, not only from his professional society.

Bozic accuses three other hardliners at the meeting, whom he acknowledges are a minority, but says "they have created in the last 2 months a bad climate. They have been charged with decimating our institutions and hundreds of our comrades, they have increased many-fold the number of our enemies and are driving the party into a sect." Bozic ended by citing Stalin's speech at the 17th congress of the Bolshevik Party on "Japanese-diversionary pests who have entered all the pores of society"; ...the speech was adopted at all levels and was the legal basis for the rapid purge of 18 million people...."

Suvar disagreed "that these five people are false leftists or ultraleftists, he considered the "citing of Stalin as more than problematic," and said "probably we will have to clear up these matters in a party way."

Branko Puharic, director of Zagreb Radio-Television, if not completely supporting Bozic, played a conciliatory role at the meeting. He also raised the question of the effect of the book or "list of cases" on "other areas of the country." "I am entirely certain that the question will be raised on the Yugoslav level, what we in Croatia are doing with this conference, and that we have material in which the names and people are from other parts of the country. It would be a problem if we were doing this because of distrust toward the LC of Serbia or the LC of Belgrade. I think that our action in this is primarily meant to help the struggle of the Serbian LC against the phenomena...in this book."

Along these lines, another participant at the meeting, Rade Peles, expressed, the Utopian view that "We must organize ourselves on the Central Committee levels, to jointly agree on action, to defend and help each other, and not to allow pests to mistreat us." Thus, the authors of the report said, "there arose at this meeting a new slogan: 'Central Committees of all republics and provinces, unite!'"

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END